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THE SENTIMENTS OF A TRUE *ANTIGALLICAN*; OR, A COLLECTION of POLITICAL PIECES, Reſpecting the Intereſt of ENGLAND.

By *JOHN FREE*, D.D.
Vicar *of* Runcorn, *in* Cheſhire, Thurſday Lecturer *at* St. Mary Hill, London, *and* Lecturer *of* Newington *in* Surry.

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CONTAINING

I. A Sermon, preached during the Rebellion, before the University of *Oxford*, on the 5th of *November*, 1745, when the Rebels were advancing to *Derby*.

II. A Sermon, Treating of the Reaſon and Neceſſity for written Laws; and the Power and Qualifications of thoſe, who write them. Preached at the *Temple* Church in *London*, on the 30th. of *January*, 1753.

III. The Doctors Speech, deliver'd *July* 30, 1753, to the Worſhipful the *Mayor*, Aldermen, and Citizens, at the Town-Hall in Cornhill, upon taking up his Freedom of the City, containing a candid and clear Account of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, both *old* and *new*.

IV. A Sermon preached at [illegible] Church, in *London* [illegible] 27th of *April*, 1753, [illegible] the Honourable Robert [illegible] Eſq; Governor, General Preſident, and the ſeveral laudable *Aſſociations* of ANTIGALLICANS.

V. Seaſonable Reflections on the Importance of the Navy of *England*, wherein is enquired, whether the Diſuſe of that Name, &c.

VI. A Vindication of the Argument of the ſaid Book and its Author from the ignorant Perverſions and Abuſes of a Set of People, called *The Monthly Reviewers*, &c. &c.

——— *Ulcumque ferunt ea fata minores,*
Vincat Amor Patriæ.——— VIRGIL.
O ſave my Country, Heav'n,—*will be the* laſt.
Biblick Epiſt. Poem.

LONDON:
Sold by Mr. *Sandby*, at the *Ship*, oppoſite St. *Dunſtan's* Church *Fleet-Street*; Mr. *Swan*, near *Northumberland-Houſe*, Mr. *Cooke*, at the *Royal-Exchange*. and Mr. *Parker* in *Oxford*. 1756.

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To His Royal Highness,

WILLIAM,

Duke of *Cumberland*,

Captain General, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, &c. &c. &c.

Moſt Illuſtrious Prince!

As the Preſervation of our *Conſtitution* has been the Buſineſs of your whole Life, the Centre of all your Labours, the End of all your Counſels, and all your Wars: It is ſcarce to be imagined, that Your Royal Highneſs can be diſpleaſed with an Attempt, which has nothing elſe in View, but to ſecure and improve that *Conſtitution*, in which you are ſo deeply intereſted. And therefore how far ſoever this Performance may fall ſhort of that Perfection, which alone could anſwer the Expectation of your ex-

tenſive Experience and Penetration, the Author can, at leaſt, encourage himſelf with this Reflexion, that Your Royal Highneſſes Love for Your Country will induce YOU to think favourably of thoſe, who love it, to bear with their good Meaning, however expreſſed, and forgive their Forwardneſs for the Sake of their Affection.

THAT Your Royal Highneſs may long live to be the Support and Comfort of His MAJESTY's Age, the faithful Guide and Inſtructor of the riſing PRINCE, the Delight of theſe Kingdoms; and—as You have ever been, the Scourge of *France*, and the Guardian of our *Engliſh* Liberties, is the hearty Prayer, of

Your Royal Highneſſes

moſt Devoted and

Obedient Servant,

JOHN FREE.

PREFACE

TO THE

Engliſh READER,

AND

To All, who are heartily in the Intereſt of ENGLAND.

COUNTRYMEN,

THE political Tracts here offered to your Peruſal, were written upon no idle Subjects; they are not to be read as a *Novel*, only for an Hour's Amuſement: For they regard ſome of the principal Events, which have happened to this *Nation*; and may always afford, to thoſe who are ſollicitous for their Country's Good, Obſervations and Maxims, which will be of ſingular Benefit upon the like Occaſions.

IT was on Account of this Uſe, which they conceived might *Generally* be made of theſe Papers, that ſome of His MAJESTY's faithful Subjects deſired, at this Juncture, their Republication. They imagined that a Delineation of the moſt unfavourable Aſpects of former Times might lead People to take Notice of Reſemblances, if any ſuch there were, in the preſent.

AND to make the View of theſe Pieces the more comprehenſive, they are collected into one Volume; that

that exhibiting our Troubles and Revolutions, as it were, in a Syſtem, they might ſerve as a faithful Directory to the Zeal and Affection of thoſe, who deſire to ſee our CONSTITUTION ſo properly ſelf-balanced, and ſo well eſtabliſhed, as that none, who live under it, may fear its Downfall; or be apprehenſive, while it ſubſiſts, of the leaſt Oppreſſion.

To this Purpoſe the *Firſt* Diſcourſe gives us a proper Idea of our *Religious* Liberties; the *Second*, of our *Civil* Rights; the *Third* exhibits the Form, wherein they have ſubſiſted, at different Times, under the ENGLISH Government; the *Fourth*, which is the *Antigallican* Sermon, ſhews how much our CONSTITUTION was injured by the *French-Norman* Uſurpation; the *Fifth*, by explaining the Meaning, Extent, and Uſe of the Name of ENGLAND, propoſes thereby to reſtore to this Nation its proper Size and Figure, to collect more determinately its *own* Strength, and to render it more ſecure and defenſible againſt the Deſigns of FRANCE, or any other Enemy whatſoever.

IF any, who are *well-affected* to their KING and COUNTRY, have *heretofore* been offended with the Author for ſpeaking ſo freely of *Events*, which, from the Face of Things, he then conſidered as too probable; and which, ſince that Time, have actually come to paſs, they ought to be ſenſible that they have done him an *Injury*: For they had really no more Reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his *Care* and *Foreſight*, than a faithful *General* has to be angry with that *Centinel*, who ſhall give him the *firſt* Notice of an *Enemy*'s Approach. All I can ſay at preſent is, that as in Times of *publick* Troubles, I am apt to forget *private* Injuries: So I hope my Opponents will, on their Side, begin to think more favourably of ſome other Parts of this Syſtem; and among other Things, not eſteem it a wrong Meaſure taken by the Government, if by the Means of *well-choſen* and *well-affected* OFFICERS, they add to our Standing Forces and Auxiliaries, the *natural Aſſiſtance* of a well-affected *Militia*. With ſuch a Body I am perſuaded no true *Antigallican* will make the leaſt Difficulty to appear in *Arms*.

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The

The Bloody Methods *of propagating the* Popish Religion *a plain Proof that it is not of* Divine Original: *Together with a Vindication of our* natural, evangelical *and* civil Rights *of opposing* any Prince, *that shall attempt to introduce it.*

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

St. Mary's in *OXFORD*,

BEFORE THE

UNIVERSITY,

ON THE

Fifth *of* November, 1745.

And published at the

Request of certain of the Hearers:

By *JOHN FREE*, DD.
Then Vice-Principal of St. Alban Hall in *Oxford*, and Vicar of Runcorn in *Cheshire*.

3.

τοῖς παθητικοῖς ἀκολουθητικὸς ὢν ματαίως σπούδαστος, καὶ ἀνωφελῶς ἔστιν προτιμᾶν τὸν ἀληθεύοντα. Aristot. Ethic.

The Third Edition.

LEVIT. xxiv. 20, 21, 22.

Breach for Breach, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth: As he hath cauſed a Blemiſh in a Man, ſo ſhall it be done to him again. And he that killeth a Beaſt, he ſhall reſtore it: And he that killeth a Man, ſhall be put to Death. Ye ſhall have one manner of Law, as well for the Stranger as for one of your own Country: For I am the Lord your God.

IT may ſeem ſomething like a Contradiction, after ſo many *Ordinances* as are preſcribed in this Book to diſtinguiſh the Race of *Iſrael*, and render them *a peculiar People*, to hear this Declaration, *Ye ſhall have one manner of Law, as well for the Stranger as for one of your own Country.*

Introduction, or Comment upon the Text.

To clear up this Difficulty we muſt obſerve, That there is no Word of a more unlimited and uncertain Signification than the *Engliſh* Word, *Law*, as we read it in the Tranſlation both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. Sometimes it means the *Jewiſh Ceremonial Law*, ſometimes the *Law of Nature*, as it means the *Religion of Nature*, ſometimes the *Law of Nature*, as it means

Natural Polity, or the Law of Nations, &c. And theſe ſeveral Meanings, comprehended in the general Term *Law*, are to be diſtinguiſhed by conſidering the Nature of the Subject diſcourſed upon, or the more limited Signification of the correſpondent Words in the † original Language.

Now the Word here meaneth *natural* POLITY, or *Laws* according to *Nature*: And it ſignifies as much as if it had been ſaid, The *Law of Nature* ſhall be the Law to you all. Tho' you the *Jews* have your *Ceremonies*, and the *Stranger* hath none, yet you ſhall all live by one *Law*, the *Law of Nature*: for that only is one, from the Beginning to the End, A fit Declaration this for the GOD of Nature, the Father both of *Jews* and *Gentiles!* and accordingly he adds, For I am the GOD and LORD of both. For, would we have the Force of the Original, it is this: *There ſhall be one Way of judging among you, I ſpeak this to the Stranger and the Native: For I am the Lord of both alike.*

One Way of judging, as to Mens natural Privileges and Properties. For the *Jews* differed from the Strangers in Matters of Religion: But yet they were not therefore privileged to hurt the Stranger. The *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation, undoubtedly a Divine Diſpen-

† The Ceremonial Law is expreſſed by תורה, *Form, Invention*; but the Word in the Text is משפט *Judgment, Equity, Law.*

End

ſation, encouraged no ſuch Proceeding; but on the contrary, *he that killed a Beaſt was to reſtore it, and he that killed a Man was to be put to death.* The Words then of the Text plainly inſinuate theſe Two PROPOSITIONS.

Diviſion of the Doctrine contained in the Text into Two principal Propoſitions.

I. THAT no Divine Diſpenſation, either in its *Precepts*, or for the ſake of its *Eſtabliſhment*, can deſtroy the *Law of Nature*; or give Occaſion to cruel, and bloody Purpoſes.

II. THAT where Men, are treated *injuriouſly* and *contrary to Nature*, they may conſiſtently with the *Laws* of GOD, reſiſt their Enemies: *Breach for Breach, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth*, &c.

THESE Propoſitions being proved, I ſhall, after the Proof of each, apply it ſeverally, as it tends, to the two great Events, we this Day commemorate, the *Popiſh Conſpiracy*, and the *Revolution*.

Firſt Propoſition, tho' complex, admits of the ſame Proof in both its Members.

THE firſt Propoſition I undertake to prove is, *That no Divine*, &c. This Propoſition conſiſts ſeemingly of two Members: For I ſay either in its *Precepts*, or for the ſake of its *Eſtabliſhment*. Which Circumſtances however are blended together in the Proof. Becauſe the Reaſons are the ſame for the one, as for the other; and GOD's Honour is as much concerned in the Manner of eſtabliſhing a Religion, as in the Precepts contained in it; becauſe a Religion to be eſtabliſhed by Methods unworthy of GOD becomes no longer his Diſpenſation. Such a

Circumſtance makes it as inconſiſtent with his Character, as if it were faulty in its *Precepts*. For it will produce the ſame ill Conſequences, of which God will be the Author, if he order it to be ſo eſtabliſhed; and if he do not order it, then is every ſuch ill Eſtabliſhment the Work of Men; and being at the ſame time an Injury to ourſelves, that it is an Affront to GOD, to oppoſe it will be our Intereſt, as well as Duty.

Proof of the firſt Propoſition.

To make way then for the Proof of this Propoſition, That no *Divine Diſpenſation*, can overturn the *Law of Nature*, &c. we muſt conſider, what the Law of Nature is, and who is the Author of it.

An Account of the Law of Nature.

The Law of Nature, or Rule of Action, between Man and Man, is written (if one may ſo ſpeak) at leaſt is characterized, and impreſſed upon the Nature of Things. It is diſtinguiſhed by obſerving the Differences and Agreement of Things, and how one is ſuited or not ſuited to another. Now what makes this Reaſon, Fitneſs, Propriety, or Impropriety, in the Nature of Things a Law to Mankind is, *firſt* this Diſcernment, or that particular FACULTY in human Underſtanding, which diſtinguiſhes the Fitneſs, Men being ſo contrived by their Maker, as to take their Meaſure of Action from the true State and Condition of Things: Or if they do not, which is the ſecond Article, that makes the Reaſon of Things a Law to Men,

How it comes to be taken notice of.

and

and is as it were the *Penalty* annexed, they are ſure to ſuffer by neglecting, or acting in Contradiction to it. This is a ſhort Account of the Law of Nature, both in its *material* and *formal* Part, and likewiſe of its Author. For if GOD created the *Reaſon* of Things to be what it is, and the *Underſtanding* of Man in ſuch a Manner as to apprehend it; and if it be likewiſe his *Will*, that when Men will not act according to the Reaſon of Things, they *ſhould ſuffer for it*: Then is GOD the AUTHOR OF THE LAW OF NATURE.

Who is its Author.

FROM this Account then, let this be obſerved, *firſt*, that GOD is the Author of the Law of Nature,

Certain remarkable Truths in this Account, that are the Foundation of ſo many Arguments for the Propoſition in queſtion.

2*dly*, That this Law, as to the *Matter* of it, is ſtampt upon the Nature of Things, and conſequently has been, and will be, coeval with Nature, or the Conſtruction of the Univerſe.

3*dly*, THAT this Law as to the *Form* of it will have, as far as it is diſcerned, the ſame Influence upon Mens *Underſtandings*, as long as Mens Underſtandings continue human, *i. e.* endued with ſuch Powers and Faculties as by their Make ſhould belong to them.

AND, *laſtly*, That it is not for the *Intereſt* of Mankind to act in Contradiction to the Law of Nature.

IF the foregoing Account of it was true, then are all theſe Propoſitions true likewiſe:

Becauſe they are either contained in that Account, or deduced from it. And in the Procedure of this Diſcourſe I ſhall make uſe of them as Maxims of undoubted Truth, to ſhew the Impoſſibility there is, that any divine Diſpenſation ſhould run counter to the Law of Nature.

Firſt Proof that the Law of Nature cannot be deſtroyed by any divine Diſpenſation, becauſe the Law of Nature is the Law God, who is ſo wiſe an Author.

Now then to come to the Proof, according to the *Order* here laid down. The firſt Reaſon why no divine Diſpenſation can overturn the Law of Nature will be, becauſe GOD is the Author of the Law of Nature: For if he as a *Law-giver* do find himſelf obliged to make new Laws for the ſame Set of People, in Oppoſition to thoſe he had before eſtabliſhed, it muſt argue him to be very deficient in his Character; and that he either knew not how to make Laws at all, or at leaſt was not ſufficiently acquainted with the Condition, Genius and Temper of his People. Now Mankind ever ſince the Beginning of Time, have been much the ſame Sort of Creatures, born with the ſame Frailties and Wants, the ſame Paſſions and Deſires which they received from their firſt Parents. Their natural Genius and Condition, therefore, being in general much the ſame, it may be ſuppoſed, that the wiſe Author of any Law would calculate it ſo, as to be adapted to their laſting Wants, and the permanent Part of their Character. We know then that GOD calculated the Law of Nature

Nature in this manner; ſince he is the Author of it and *confeſſedly* ſo wiſe an Author, as not to be capable of Error or Omiſſion. He therefore will never overturn the Law of Nature; and of conſequence no *divine* Diſpenſation will ever overturn it, ſince *he* muſt be the *Author* of every ſuch Diſpenſation. The Law of Nature then is immutable, in the firſt Place, becauſe it hath GOD for its *Author*, who, as he is a Being of infinite Wiſdom, could never contrive any thing ſo ill, as that, upon ſecond Thoughts, it ſhould want to be corrected by ſomething quite contrary to what it is.

THE Law of Nature is, *ſecondly*, immutable, becauſe, as to the Matter of it, it is ſtamped upon the Nature of Things, and conſequently has been, and will be, coeval with Nature, or the Conſtruction of the Univerſe; and, upon this account, it is immutable. For if the Law of Nature be thus to continue with the World, the deep Root it takes in the Reaſon of Things, and its twining itſelf with their Conſtitution, makes it *naturally* impoſſible, during the preſent Frame of Things, that GOD ſhould go about to change it, by introducing a new Law of Nature.

Naturally impoſſible, from the Impoſſibility of changing the Nature of Things.

AND *morally* impoſſible, *i. e.* conſidering his moral Character, impoſſible that it ſhould be changed by any divine Revelation.

And, becauſe the Nature of Things cannot be

changed, it is upon that account, morally impoſſible, that any divine Diſpenſation ſhould deſtroy the Law of Nature.

on. For why, this new Revelation, ſhould it be oppoſite, would not obliterate the old Law; that would ſtill remain with the World, ſtrongly *engraven* in its old Characters; which would throw Mankind into ſuch a Puzzle and Uncertainty, that, receiving both Laws upon the *ſame* Authority, they could neither follow the one nor the other. A Confuſion, which the Nature of *moral Agents* cannot admit of, and which would reflect as much upon the Juſtice and Goodneſs of GOD, as the Neceſſity of innovating did upon his Wiſdom.

Unleſs we ſuppoſe, that human Underſtanding may be changed though the Face of Nature remain the ſame.

AND yet, *thirdly*, this muſt be the State of Things, were any Diſpenſation aſſuredly divine to claſh with the Law of Nature: Unleſs we ſuppoſe another Method poſſible of rendering thoſe old Tables uſeleſs; and that is, by changing the State of Mens Underſtandings, putting *Bitter for Sweet, and Sweet for Bitter*, and corrupting their Taſte accordingly. A Way of Proceeding as impracticable as the former.

Which, in the preſent State, cannot be effected.

FOR the changing of *Mens Minds* would be like the other, changing the *Nature of Things*; at leaſt, ſo far as to alter the *rational* Part of the Creation. Which cannot be, while Men continue Men; that is, endued with ſuch Powers and Faculties as, by their Make, ſhould belong to them.

Or, could ſuch a Change be

OR were ſuch a thing poſſible to be effected in Nature, GOD, by his *moral Character*,

racter, could never be concerned in it, any more than in the former. It is ſuch a wicked Impoſition, as he highly blames in Men, and pronounces, by his * Prophet, a bitter Woe againſt. The ſame Reaſon why it could not be juſtified in *Man*, is a Reaſon why it could not be juſtified in GOD. For it would drive Men blindfold upon continual Dangers and Confuſion; which is always the Conſequence of a Courſe of Action, that is contrary to the *Truth* of the *Caſe*, and the *Courſe* of NATURE.

effected in human Nature, it is inconſiſtent with God's moral Character to effect it.

AND foraſmuch as the wiſeſt Men are, and, as it has been proved, muſt always be ſenſible of *this*: Therefore, *laſtly*, it is impoſſible, upon another Account, that GOD ſhould overturn the *Law of Nature* for the Sake of any *divine Diſpenſation*: Becauſe the preſent Conſtitution of the World being *unaltered*, and Mens Minds *uncorrupted* by Miſrepreſentation, as it will not be for their Intereſt, ſo they will know, that it is not for their Intereſt to act in Contradiction to the *Law of Nature*; and the Conſideration of this will be to them the *Sanction* of the Law, and the *Motive* of their Obedience. Of Conſequence then, GOD can never be ſo *weak*, as to offer to Men any *divine Diſpenſation*, that may oppoſe the *Law of Nature*: Becauſe it is oppoſing their *Intereſt*, and requiring them to depart from

Laſtly, upon theſe Accounts, the Sanction of the Law of Nature will be immoveable; which makes it impoſſible that it ſhould be deſtroyed

* *Iſaiah*, v. 20.

thoſe

thoſe Obligations, which *he* has laid upon them to obey *that Law*, and ſubjecting them to Pains and Penalties, which *he* has preſcribed, and which, by his *Will*, do naturally enſue, whenever *that Law* is broken. The *new Religion*, at this rate, can have no Sanction to Obedience; but a ſtrong Sanction on the other Side, which commands us to diſobey. Another Inconſiſtency this, with common Wiſdom, and common Juſtice. It is plain then, conſidering the *Wiſdom of* GOD *in enacting the* Law of Nature, *—the Unchangeableneſs of its Characters,—and of the Conſtitution of its Subjects,—and the Sanction upon which it is eſtabliſhed,*—— that no *divine Diſpenſation* can overturn the *Law of Nature*, or be a proper Ground for introducing a Scene of *Perſecution*, *Blood*, and *Cruelty*.

The Application of the Doctrine of the firſt Propoſition to the Popiſh Conſpiracy.

IT may not be unſeaſonable here to aſk the *Papiſts*, What Sort of Religion they are propagating in the Dungeons of the *Inquiſition*?—What Sort of Religion they were for eſtabliſhing in theſe Kingdoms, by their horrid Plots and Treachery, and dark Deſigns of Death?—Such a Religion could not be of *divine Original*; becauſe no *divine Diſpenſation* could thus run counter to the *Law of Nature*. It is to be conſidered then in another Light; not as the Offſpring of GOD, but as the deſtructive Machination of very wicked *Men*: for *very wicked*

wicked Men they muſt be, who ſet about to do the greateſt Injuries, not only to *ſingle Perſons*, but to *whole Societies* of their Fellow-Creatures. An Injury of *this Kind*, among the many other *Breaches*, they have made upon us, we may fairly reckon the *intended Deſtruction of the King and Parliament*. When, for the Sake of its Propagation, a Scheme of Religion foſters ſuch a Deſign as this, it can never be of *divine Authority*. I ſay then, that ſuch a Scheme of Religion, by whomſoever countenanced, like other Injuries, may be reſiſted.

Proof of the Second Propoſition

BUT as it is a Doubt with ſome People, Whether it be *lawful* to reſiſt an Injury, eſpecially if it proceed from thoſe, they think their *Superiors*, or take Countenance from their Authority; it behoves me here to make good the *ſecond Propoſition*, and to ſhew, *That where Men are treated injuriouſly, and contrary to Nature, they may, conſiſtently with the* Laws *of* GOD, *reſiſt their Enemies, let their Condition be what it will.* Breach for Breach, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, *&c.*

Men are by Nature, poſſeſſed of certain Rights and Privileges.

EVERY Man has, *by Nature*, a Right to Safety in his Perſon, Effects, and other Circumſtances; unleſs that Right be ſome how *forfeited*. In Society Men are always conſidered in this View, and are protected in the Enjoyment of theſe Privileges by the Civil Magiſtrate. If he acts in his true Character, *By what* Means

They are secured to them in Society:—— And by what Persons.

Character, he watches for the Safety of his People; reſtrains, reſiſts, and puniſhes, thoſe who hurt his Subjects. What are Wars abroad, what are Stripes and Impriſonment, and the Tortures and Death of Criminals at home, but ſo many Acts of *Reſiſtence* againſt *Acts* of *Violence?* Theſe Proceedings at leaſt are univerſally ſo interpreted, univerſally allowed by all civilized Nations, as founded upon Nature and Reaſon, and calculated for the Preſervation of Society. Imagine only all Reſtraints removed, and the injurious Part of Mankind let looſe upon the Innocent: And what Devaſtation, Rapine, and Bloodſhed; what Affliction and Miſery in every Shape, and on every Side muſt overwhelm Mankind? Impunity always ſuppoſes Encouragement: To fall proſtrate before theſe Beaſts of Prey, is to invite them to the Spoil; it is abetting their Party, helping them to extirpate all that's good, and to baniſh from among Men their Safety and their Happineſs.

IT apears then, that in all Countries ſome Men ought to be Oppoſers of Injuries; and throughout the known World, where Societies are formed ſome Men are really ſet apart for this Purpoſe.

Magiſtracies not always of the ſame Form: —— and why.

IT may be obſerv'd in different States and Nations, that theſe are not always People of exactly the ſame Figure and Condition.

AND for this there is good Reaſon, be-

cauſe

cauſe thoſe Circumſtances are to be regulated from time to time, according to the original *Compact* of the State, the *great Charter*, that binds them in Society, and according to the various *Circumſtances* under which the Common wealth at different *Seaſons* may ſubſiſt.

When created they may be changed.

In its firſt flouriſhing and *beſt* Condition, when like a new Ship ſailing from an Harbour in fair Weather, all is in good Order from within, all is ſerene and pleaſant from without, the Power of oppoſing Enemies, and ſuppreſſing Tumults, will be in the Hands of thoſe Officers, of whom the Government of the Veſſel upon its firſt Regulation was compoſed: But as in the Ship, ſo in the State; the Right of Oppoſition may devolve to others, and depart from them, who at firſt held it,

The Right of oppoſing Injuries originally in Individuals, but in Society tranſfered in the firſt place to Rulers.

The Right of oppoſing Injuries is originally to be ſure in every Individual. Upon uniting in Society, Men ſo tranſfer this Right to thoſe, they call their Governors, as to exerciſe it no more themſelves, but in Caſes where the Governor's Power wilfully fails, or is * accidentally not at hand to aſſiſt them.

* The Author in this Paſſage ſhews, by a fundamental Law of Nature, that *Aſſociations were* not *illegal*, tho' a contrary Cry was much in the Mouths of ſome People at the Time, when this Sermon was preaching.

RULERS

RULERS then, whether they be few or many, or by whatſoever Titles they may be diſtinguiſhed, are by their Office conſtituted; and for this End hold their Authority to be a Terror to thoſe who do wrong, and to defend the natural Rights and Privileges of their People. There is by Nature a tacit Compact of this kind between Magiſtrates and People; And in moſt Places a *formal* Engagement, confirm'd by *ſolemn Oaths*, and *Obligations* on both Sides.

Governors thus inveſted may loſe their Authority, or the People reſume it, or tranſmit it to another.

GOVERNORS thus inveſted with this Authority may loſe it, and the People reſume it back unto themſelves, or tranſmit it to another, as Neceſſity ſhews the Occaſion.

I SAY, Governors may loſe this Authority: For they are by their Office, as far as the State can enable them, to ward off Injuries.

A Caſe wherein the Right of Reſiſtance devolves to the People.

ONE Caſe then wherein the People may reſume this Power of reſiſting Injuries, and execute it for themſelves, will be, where the State is in imminent Danger from an Enemy, and the Magiſtrate impowered to reſiſt him, ſhall refuſe to execute his Office.

A Proof of its being conſiſtent with the Laws of Nature.

FOR if you would have a Society ſubſiſt, thoſe Injuries which would overturn it, muſt be repelled. If the Governor, or Governors refuſe to act, it is plain the State cannot be ſaved by them: For Injuries cannot be repelled by *Inaction* and *Non-reſiſtence*. Its Safety then muſt come from another

another Quarter: And becauſe the breaking up of a State, and looſing the Bands of Society muſt threaten Deſtruction to the Members that compoſe it, it will be lawful in ſuch a Conjuncture for the People to ſave themſelves in the beſt manner that they are able, ſince every Man, unleſs he be a Criminal, has a Right to Self-preſervation, and may ſingly exert this Right, or concur in the public Motions of the People, who are for ſaving themſelves, by ſaving the State, and uniting under a Government, that will protect it.

It is plain then, in an imminent Danger of the State, where the Governor, though in a Capacity, *refuſes* to act, that the People may take to themſelves the *Power of reſiſting* a public Enemy.

And this is not the only Caſe, wherein *Reſiſtence* is allowed *the People*. For ſuppoſing the Magiſtrate, which is natural enough, upon forſaking his own Subjects, to league with the Enemy, or upon his own Bottom to grow injurious, the People may then reſiſt that Magiſtrate.

This not the only Caſe wherein Reſiſtence is allowed the People. They may in ſome Circumſtances reſiſt a Magiſtrate.

For if thoſe very Perſons, who are impowered and authorized for the Defence of the Society, turn their Authority and Power againſt it, and inſtead of ſuppreſſing, commit Injuries, they are certainly to be reputed public Enemies. For a public Enemy could do nothing worſe. The Power of reſiſting

The Reaſon and Nature of

Society ſo requiring.

reſiſting Injuries therefore muſt in this Caſe immediately change Place; ſince for the Preſervation of Society, it muſt ſubſiſt ſomewhere, and the ſame Perſon cannot at the ſame Time be both Offender, and the Puniſher of his Offences. It revolves then back to thoſe, who gave it; and in regard it is to be employed againſt ſuch as do Injuries, it will bear hard upon any that are found in that Character, without having reſpect to any *nominal* Diſtinction.

THERE are Seaſons then, wherein it is lawful for common People to reſiſt an Injury; nay, even to oppoſe the Perſon of a Governor, if he depart from his proper Character, and become injurious.

Reſiſtence of Injuries the Doctrine of revealed Religion.

WHAT has been advanced upon this Head ſeems, for good Reaſons, to be agreeable to the Law of Nature, and therefore agreeable to the *Goſpel*, which, as a *divine* Diſpenſation, muſt coincide with, and conform to, the Law of Nature: and ſuch a Conformity is always to be looked upon as an eſſential Mark of its divine Original. If the Law of Nature and the Goſpel have been ſet at Variance upon this Subject, it is a great Misfortune, and all who wiſh well to the Latter, muſt endeavour to reconcile it with the Former; which Reconcilation, perhaps, if the Goſpel were rightly apprehended, is not a Matter of ſo great Difficulty. There is good Reaſon to aſſert this, becauſe

cauſe *our Saviour* himſelf expreſly declares, * That he came *not to deſtroy the* (*Moral*) *Law, but to fulfil it.* If there be a Difference then between it and the Goſpel, it muſt be in People's Miſapprehenſion, and not a real Difference: And upon this Footing I think we ought not to affirm that what *our Saviour* ſays in his Comment upon the Words of the Text, *An Eye for an Eye*, &c. is a flat Contradiction to the Precept, *i.e.* a Command of indiſpenſable Obligation oppoſed to another of the ſame Obligation: But we ought rather to ſay, that what *our Saviour* advances in this Paſſage, is no ſuch Command at all, but only a Piece of prudent Counſel, and good Advice to the *Jews*, who being of a cruel and malicious Diſpoſition, might carry a Law in itſelf calculated for the Peace and Safety of Society, into an Abuſe, by ſtraining it farther than was neceſſary to thoſe Ends, to gratify a revengeful Temper. Beſide what I have mentioned, there are other Reaſons to believe this to be only a Matter of bare Counſel, ſince *the Goſpel* is ſuch a copious Syſtem of *Ethicks* as to provide us with good Rules, even for *common Actions.* Thus our Saviour ſays (*Luke* xiv. 8.) *When thou art bidden of any Man to a Wedding, ſit not down in the higheſt Room*, &c. Now this is delivered in the *Imperative Mood*; and if you regard

* *Mat.* v. 17.

the Phraſe only, looks as much like a *Command* as *thou ſhalt not kill*, *Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery*: But no reaſonable Man in expounding theſe Words will ſay that they are of the ſame Importance, or that a Man would hazard his Salvation by ſitting higher at a Feaſt, than is agreeable to his Quality. There ſeems to be no more ſpiritual Danger in the Caſe, if one, that had loſt his Coat ſhould endeavour to keep his Cloak from the Adverſary. The Truth is, this way of delivering both *Commands* and *Counſels* in the ſame Language is almoſt univerſally the Method in *Scripture*, and agreable to the Uſage of the *Eaſtern Nations*. St. *Paul*, indeed, who was a Native of *Cilicia* a Province in the Neighbourhood of the *Greek* Cities of *Aſia Minor*, had from the Place of his Birth, and his Converſation with the *Gentiles*, contracted more of the Language and Manners of the *Greeks*, and with their Elegance tells you, as the Subject requires, what you are to look upon as *Advice*, and what as a Matter of * Duty: But *our Saviour* whoſe Scene of Action was in *Judæa*, among his own Countrymen, ſpeaks in *their* Manner; delivers his *Counſels* and Commands in one Form, and leaves us to judge from the Subject of the Importance of either. Thus in this Place it is not *all kinds* of Reſiſtence that he forbids,

* *Cor.* vii. 25.

but

but ſuch as is *carried too far*, or exerciſed to our Diſadvantage upon Trifles, where the Matter being of ſmall Concern, yielding a little would be moſt for our Intereſt. This ſeems to be our *Saviour*'s Meaning, and not that he would have us ſubmit to the greateſt Injuries, where there is a *Reſource*, and no other Reſource but by *reſiſting*. When the Men of *Sodom* † preſſed hard upon *Lot*, would the *Son of God* have bidden him ſubmit to their Beſtiality? So far from that, that he is ſuppoſed to be one of the *two Men* that did reſiſt them, that forcibly ſecured *Lot* from the intended Injury, and ſtruck the Inhabitants with Blindneſs. Agreeable to this Conduct was the Doctrine of our *Saviour* while he dwelt among us. He ſays, *It muſt needs be*, in the Courſe of things, *that Offences will come*, and pronounces a Woe againſt him *by whom the Offence cometh* *. What is this *Woe* but the *Puniſhment* due to the Offence? And Puniſhments we ſay are in their Nature, Acts of Reſiſtence to prevent the Increaſe of Violence. *Our Saviour*'s Speech then implies, that Wrongs are to be reſiſted: Becauſe Puniſhment implies Reſiſtence. He ſpeaks of one *King going to War with another King*, † as a thing ſubſiſting in the Courſe of Nature, which paſſes without his Condemnation. His *Forerunner*, who was to *prepare the Way*

† *Gen.* xix, 10. * *Mat.* xviii. 77. † *Luke* xiv. 31.

before him by teaching the ſame Morality, when he was aſked by the *Soldiers*, thoſe public Inſtruments of Reſiſtence, what he took to be their Duty, does not bid them quit their Profeſſion as unlawful; allowing them thereby to repel Injuries, tho' he orders them *to do no Violence, and to be content with the Wages* ‖ which the State allotted them. But to dwell no longer upon the Subject, *our Saviour* himſelf when Occaſion required it, orders ſuch of his Diſciples as might be without a Sword *to ſell his Garment and buy one* §. Thus much in Confirmation of the firſt Step we advanced. *By the written Law of God, and the Terms of the Goſpel Injuries in general may be reſiſted.*

AND for the *particular Caſes*, that followed this *general Concluſion*, they alſo may be ſupported by Authorities from the *New Teſtament*.

Reſiſtence in the firſt Caſe above cited, vindicated from Holy Scripture.

As *firſt*, That *where a Governor impowered refuſes to act, and the State be in imminent Danger, the People may take to themſelves the Power of reſiſting an Enemy.*

ST. *Paul* ſays, that *A* † Governor *is a Miniſter of* GOD, for the Subject, *to execute Wrath upon the Injurious*; and that *he beareth not the Sword in vain.* The People then, who have a Magiſtrate over them, that careth not to redreſs their Injuries, are, according to the *Scripture Definition*, without

‖ *Luke* iii. 14. § *Luke* xxii. 36. † *Rom.* xiii. 4.

a Gover-

a Governor. Injuries therefore in this Caſe may be reſiſted by the *People*: Since by the former Scriptures it appears, that they may be reſiſted by *ſomebody*; and where the Magiſtrate *bears the Sword in vain*, the People are the only remaining Inſtruments of Reſiſtence.

Reſiſtence in the ſecond Caſe, vindicated from Holy Scripture.

And, *ſecondly*, this *Reſiſtence*, by the Terms of Scripture, may be carried againſt the *Governor himſelf*, if to *Negligence* he addeth *Violence* and *Injuries*.

When St. *Paul* * called *Nero* a *Lion*, the Apoſtle, under the Influence of God's *Holy Spirit*, and the *Roman* Senate, under the Direction of the *Law of Nature*, judged both the *ſame Judgment*. *They*, indeed, as being able to make head againſt him, declared openly, † that he was an Enemy, and that he ſhould be immediately brought to Puniſhment; while St. *Paul*, as one under the Paw of the Lion, and almoſt in the Jaws of the Savage, ſpeaks with more Caution, tho' in effect the ſame Language.

The Scripture in the very Detail of our Duty towards Superiors, reminds us of *our Freedom*, and only warns us not to make uſe of it as * *a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs* againſt a *good Governor*. For it repreſents, as the State of Things, which *ſhould* obtain; the *Governor* always *good*; and the *People* always *free*, that is poſſeſſed of all ſuch Privileges

* 2. *Tim.* iv. 17. † *Sueton. in Neronæ Claudio.* * *Pet.* ii. 16.

as by Law belong to them. If the Governor forcibly break thro' thoſe Laws, which ſecure their Liberties, he intrenches upon the Peoples Freedom; and the People, to ſecure their Freedom, muſt in proportion reſiſt that Governor. All this is contained in the Notion of *Freedom*. And if the Scripture ſuppoſes *Liberty* in the *Subject*, it allows them, in defence of it, to *reſiſt* their *Governor*, if there be juſt Occaſion.

UPON the whole then we may conclude, that *where Men are treated injuriouſly, and contrary to Nature, they may, conſiſtently with the Laws of God, reſiſt their Enemy, let his Condition be what it will.*

The Application of the Doctrine of the ſecond Head to the REVOLUTION.

THIS Point being clear'd, I ſhall, by way of Concluſion, apply the Doctrine advanced under this *ſecond* Head to the *other great Event* we this Day commemorate, *the* REVOLUTION; that, from the *Application*, we may be able to judge, *how far the Conduct of the People of theſe Kingdoms, upon that Occaſion, may be juſtified.*

WE have ſhewn, that *Reſiſtence*, rightly circumſtanced, is *conſiſtent* with the *Laws of* GOD. Upon the ſame Footing we ſay, That where a *Governor* will not oppoſe a public Enemy, the *People* may themſelves oppoſe that Enemy. And *laſtly*, That if their *Governor* take part with the Enemy, and thereby aſſume the ſame Character, the *People* may, by the *ſame Laws* oppoſe that *Governor*.

IN

In applying the Doctrine of the *firſt* Head to the Popish Conspiracy, I remarked, that the Introduction of the *popiſh* Religion, a Religion that foſtered Deſigns of Cruelty and Bloodſhed, was, by the *Law of Nature*, and of conſequence by the *Terms of the Goſpel*, an Injury to any Nation. Before the Reign of *James* II. the King and People of *England* had likewiſe, by their own Laws, made it an Injury to them in particular; ſince, by the *Statutes of the Realm*, they had oppoſed a * *Barrier* to *Popery*, and excluded as common Enemies, all Perſons profeſſing *that Religion*, from all *Offices* Civil and Military, and all *Places of Truſt*, in the Government. *Human Laws*, when thus founded on *Divine*, are certainly *good* Laws; and any *Reſtorer* of the *popiſh* Religion was, upon this Foundation, undoubtedly to be adjudged an Enemy.

And vindicated by the Laws of the Land.

The *King* of *England*, by the Neglect of theſe Enemies, had in effect reſigned back to the *People* the Power of oppoſing them *themſelves*. They had in vain † *repoſed a Confidence on his gracious Word for the Defence of the* Church of England; inaſmuch as he himſelf herded with the Enemy, and abetted their Party. The Law againſt *Papiſts* could not be repealed, but by the ſame Power that made it. The King, to undermine it, called all the Laws of *England* his

* *Wellwood's* Memoirs. † *Addreſs of the Commons.*

Laws,

Laws, and aſſumed a Power of *diſpenſing* with *this*, and by conſequence with *any other*. To this Effect he publiſhed a Declaration in favour of the *popiſh* Religion, commanding it to be read by the Clergy of the Church eſtabliſhed. The *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, and *ſix* of the *Biſhops*, for petitioning againſt this *Declaration*, were impriſoned. The *Biſhop* of *London*, and one of the Principal of his Clergy, for their Diſlike to Popery, were ſuſpended: And that there might not be wanting a Power to *compel*, as Matters grew riper, the *King* kept a great *Army* on foot, conſiſting chiefly of *Papiſts*, and into their Hands likewiſe he put his Forts and Garriſons. This unhappy, deluded Prince then, by the *Laws of his Country*, as well as the *Laws of* GOD *and Nature*, was among his *Proteſtant Subjects*, deemed a *public Enemy*. A Governor, in this Character, may be *reſiſted*; and his People, forſaken by him, do no Wrong in fixing the ſupreme Power in the Hands of thoſe, that will protect them.

The Circumſtances of thoſe Times conſidered, with relation to the preſent.

I HAVE been the more particular in this Detail of *paſt Times*, and the Principles upon which the Body of the *Engliſh Nation* acted, in that Conjuncture, becauſe the PRETENDERS to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms, the preſent *Invaders* of our Rights and Properties, come inſtigated by the ſame hoſtile Principles, abetted by the ſame hoſtile Powers,

ers, to eſtabliſh the ſame hateful and bloody Superſtition, which was expelled at the *Abdication* of *James* II. The Concurrence of the *ſame Circumſtances* makes it neceſſary to direct to the *ſame End*, (its only right and proper End) that *Spirit of Oppoſition* which is inſeparable from the *Engliſh Nation*. For it is a Spirit very capable of being miſguided: It has ſometimes believed the moſt impudent Lyes, and as *obſtinately* oppoſed the moſt evident Truths; it has followed the Call of all Sorts of People; of *Jeſuits* and *Republicans*, and (what is as bad as either, becauſe they are the *Inſtruments* of *both*) the infamous Tribe of hireling Scribes and Demagogues, People without Conſcience, without Property, who are at once the Product and Bane of Liberty, that through the Licentiouſneſs of our Times have been ſuffered to breathe, and taint the Air by Breathing. No! let not any one think by ſetting *Oppoſition* on its *right Footing*, that we go about to juſtify *every Revolution*: Some in *England* have been perhaps our Curſe and Infamy. *Kings* are not to be oppoſed becauſe they *are Kings*; nor are we raſhly to run with the *Beaſts of the People*, when they are ſtung to Madneſs, and driven by the Artifice of malignant Faction. Our Guides, upon important Occaſions, ſhould be the wiſer and better Sort. And what the Sentiments of theſe are, may be collected

lected from the Speeches and Addreſſes of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Clergy* of the Nation, and from the *Sermons* of our *Biſhops* and *Prelates*.

HOWEVER the Weight of Taxes may have affected ſome of us, it is to be conſidered, that the *additional Burthen* to thoſe Taxes has been laid on with the *common Conſent* of the People of *England*, to ſupport two foreign Wars begun at *their own Inſtance*. If ſome profligate Wretches, by their expenſive Follies, and more expenſive Vices, have ruined themſelves and their Dependents, and laid that to the Charge of the Government, which ought to be charged on their Debaucheries, we are not blindly to think a Nation undone becauſe ſuch People are undone, whoſe Fate would have been the ſame under any Government: Nor are we to learn public Counſels from ſuch as cannot manage a private Fortune; but our Duty is, under the Direction of wiſe and good Counſellors, deliberately and conſcientiouſly to conſider the Cauſes and Conſequences of a Revolution: And alas! in the preſent State of Things, by ſuch an Event could we be Gainers? The Cauſe of the *late Revolution* was the Dread of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*, and the Apprehenſion of loſing every thing that was dear to us as *Men* and *Chriſtians*, and the Conſequences of it under a Succeſſion of Proteſtant

teſtant Princes have been the Enjoyment of our *religious* and *civil Liberties*, and ſuch an Increaſe of *Wealth*, by the Extent of our *Commerce*, as has elevated the *Commoners* and *Merchants* of theſe Kingdoms almoſt to a Level with *foreign Princes*. This being the Caſe, a *Revolution* at *this Day*, from the Quarter ſome thoughtleſs People expect it, can ſerve to no Purpoſe but the Introduction of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*, and the fixing upon our Necks the immoveable Yoke of two formidable foreign Powers beſide. The Conſequence of which muſt be, the Extinction of our *religious* and *civil Liberties*, an univerſal Change of Property, and a long and various civil War, attended with a Sea of Bloodſhed.

It is natural to enquire here by what Infatuation any who call themſelves *Proteſtants* can be led to look for *ſuch a Revolution*: And, would the Time permit, it would not at this Juncture be unſeaſonable, in an Aſſembly, that owes its Inſtitution to a political Occaſion, to reckon up the Artifices that have been uſed, and the Accidents that have concurred, to work ſo far upon common Minds as to make ſome of them diſaffected to their own Happineſs.

For our *ſubtle Neighbours* have learnt to manage ſo well the *deluded Engliſh*, as to improve ſome Circumſtances into Diſcontent, which ought to have taken another Turn, and

and been the Ground of our higheſt Affection to our Sovereign. *His Majeſty* having been particularly active, both in his own Perſon, and as far as ever he could extend his Influence, againſt the growing Tyranny of the *French*, in conſequence of this grew heartily *hated* by *them*; which is one good Reaſon why he ſhould be heartily *loved* by every *Engliſhman*. But to prevent this, if poſſible, the Emiſſaries of that Nation have been dextrous in amuſing ſuch as would attend to them, with falſe Gloſſes and political Paradoxes. We have been told, that *England* has no Concerns with the *Continent*; and that we are wrong in endeavouring to put a Stop to the Acquiſitions of our Enemies in that Quarter. Now there is not an *Huſbandman* in *England* but knows, that the extending of his Neighbour's Grounds muſt be the leſſening of his own, and that by how much the greater he [the Neighbour] grows in Eſtate and Riches, by ſo much the abler he is to oppreſs him. As obvious as this Truth may ſeem to the meaneſt Underſtanding, the collected People of *England* cannot believe one, which is quite as eaſy, *That the Increaſe of* French *Territory is the Increaſe of* French *Power*,

I FORBEAR to ſay by what particular Perſons or Parties among us theſe Deluſions have been propagated; becauſe this is not a Seaſon for *Engliſhmen* to accuſe each other.

Many

Many different People have concurred in the ſame Work, till ſome of them, ſeeing their Tendency, have been alarmed at their own Proceedings. *Ambition* and *Avarice*, the *Wantonneſs* of ſome, and the *Folly* and *Ignorance* of others, nay the very *Faſhion of the Times*, have conſpired with the Enemies of our Church and State, in propagating Diſaffection to a Prince, who hath made his *Peoples Intereſt* and *his own* inſeparable; who hath governed not by his *Will*, but by the *Laws of the Land*; and in the Courſe of a longer Period than perhaps is to be paralleled in *Britiſh Hiſtory*, (however their treaſonable Practices may have deſerved it) never ſuffered the ſpilling of a ſingle Subject's Blood; but, on the contrary, turned all his Reſentment againſt the *common Enemy*, expoſing his *own Perſon*, and that of his *Royal Deſcendants*, to all the Perils of War, which he carried againſt the Borders of the Enemy, far from our happy, peaceful *Britain*: While we, through our Folly and Wickedneſs, have, in an unnatural Manner, againſt *him*, and againſt *ourſelves*, kindled it in the Bowels of our native Country, to the great Hazard of our *Liberty* and our *Religion*.

It is time that we recollect ourſelves: And though, for the *Abuſe* of *both* theſe *Bleſſings*, we *deſerve neither*; yet may God Almighty

Almighty leave us our *Liberty* and our *Religion!* If not, yet for that we *have beeen* happy, we ought ſtill to render him *All Honour and Glory, Might, Majeſty, and Dominion, both now and for ever.*

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of

Of the Reaſon *and* Neceſſity *for* written Laws, *and the* Power, *and* Qualifications *of thoſe, who write them.*

A

SERMON

PREACHED

On the ANNIVERSAY FAST

OF THE

Thirtieth of *January*,

In the Year, 1753.

AT THE

TEMPLE CHURCH,

in *LONDON:*

Quoniam in popolari Ratione omnis noſtra verſatur Oratio populariter interdum *loqui* neceſſe erit, *et appellare eam Legem, quæ* Scripto *ſancit, quod vult, aut jubendo aut vetando, ut* Vulgus *appellat. Conſtituendi vero Juris ab illâ* SUMMA LEGE *capiamus Exordium*, &c. M. Tull. Cicero de Legibus.

The SECOND EDITION.

EXODUS xxxi. 18.

And he gave unto Moſes after he had made an End of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two Tables of Teſtimony, Tables of Stone written with the Finger of God.

THE Words, I have read relate to the two Tables of the Ten Commandments, which in a bold and figurative Way of Speech are ſaid to be written with the Finger of God. For as the Finger is among Men chiefly inſtrumental in Writing; that common Underſtandings might not be puzzled with any new Form of Speech, the Expreſſion, which properly belongs to Men, is upon a like Occaſion applied to God. Tho' in the following Chapter the Meaning is explained, to be only this, That, *the Tables were the Work of God, and the Writing was the Writing of God graven upon the Tables.* *

Now for the Matter of the Text, there are ſome Things remarkable in it relating to this Portion of the *Jewiſh* Law, which ſhould be in Part eſſential to all Laws whatever. The firſt is, that it was *written*, the

* *Exod.* xxxii. 16.

ſecond, that the Writing was the *Writing of God.*

WHICH was literally true of the Laws contained in the Ten Commandments, and it were to be wiſhed, it were ſo, of all others. But as in the Courſe of Things it muſt be otherwiſe. In applying this Expreſſion to human Injunctions we are not to underſtand it in a ſtrict Senſe, as though it could be expected that God Almighty ſhould really write every Law, which is publiſhed by human Lawgivers; but only that they ſhould come ſo near his Writing, as not to be diſapproved of, or diſliked by him; that they ſhould have in them the Senſe and Equity of Heaven, and be in Reality ſuch Laws, as God himſelf would preſcribe, though they be expreſſed in Characters by Men.

THE Words then ſuggeſt to our Thoughts,

FIRST, The Reaſon and Neceſſity for written Laws, and Then,

SECONDLY, Some Conſiderations on the Power and Qualifications of thoſe, who write them.

FIRST, Then of the Reaſon, and Neceſſity for writtten Laws.

THE very firſt Diſtinction, that we obſerve between thoſe People, who have Laws, and

and thoſe who have none is this, that the former proceed almoſt upon every Occaſion in one and the ſame Track; but the latter by as many Ways as there are Opinions. And as this Regularity in the Conduct of People, who live under Laws can ariſe originally from nothing elſe but the Uniformity of the Rule they go by, we muſt conclude that it is of the Nature of a Law, to be an *uniform Rule* of Action.

THEN as this is generally to ſerve the Purpoſe of the Ruler or Magiſtrate on the one hand, and the Uſes of the People on the other, it directing the former how to command, and the latter how to obey; what is compleatly and properly a Law muſt be defined ſtill farther *a Direction* in both Caſes *to Prince and People*. Theſe are prime and eſſential Attributes, and never to be omitted.

Now as the propereſt Means of making a Law thus uſeful in the firſt Degree, and capable of receiving additional Force and Obligation, we find the Almighty himſelf for the Sake of his People committing his Laws to Writing. And conforming themſelves to the Methods which, in this Particular, Divine Wiſdom made Uſe of as the beſt, the greateſt and moſt remarkable Cities, that we read of in Antiquity took care that the Lawgiver's own Words ſhould remain

engraven upon the moſt durable Materials, * and that the People ſhould be acquainted with his Meaning by the Publication of Copies faithfully tranſcribed from the Original.

This was certainly the ſecure and only Way for preſerving the Senſe of the Lawgiver unalterable; for acquainting the Magiſtrate with the Extent of his Power, and the Subjects with the Meaſures of their Obedience. Great Uncertainties muſt ariſe in Governments of any conſiderable Extent, from Laws communicated by Speech alone. For as every ſupreme Magiſtrate muſt govern either by Laws received from thoſe who went before him in his Office, or by ſuch as he has himſelf enacted: The Difficulties, in both Caſes, which muſt neceſſarily flow from Injunctions merely verbal, ſufficiently demonſtrate that they cannot be any certain intelligible Rule of Action, either not to the Prince himſelf, or not to Prince and People, and conſequently in Effect no Laws at all.

FOR with reſpect to the Prince, let us

* The Method among the *Eaſtern* Nations we read of in the Prophet *Daniel*. Ch. vi. 8, *Now O King, eſtabliſh the Decree and Sign the Writing, according to the Laws of the Medes and Perſians which altereth not.*

At *Athens*, which City was once a Check to the *Perſian* Power, the Laws were engraven upon Wood and Stone: Thoſe written by the Lawgiver's own Hand were preſerved in the *Acropolis*, Copies for common Uſe were lodged in the *Prytaneum*.

conſider

conſider him firſt in this View, as putting pre-eſtabliſhed Rules in Execution, or ſuch as were Rules before his Authority commenced.

How is he to come to the Knowledge of them? Is he to gather it from what he can remember of the *Practice* or Example of preceding *Rulers*, or from the *Senſe* of the People? The firſt of theſe Intelligences one would think leſs variable, and uncertain than the other, as coming through fewer Hands: though the Obſtructions, I am about to mention render it perhaps as difficult to come at the Lawgiver's Meaning this Way as the other. For the Moderation of Princes with Regard to Power, tho' otherwiſe very reaſonable Men, has ſometimes been diſputed, and how juſtly, if there be no written Rule for their Conduct, muſt for ever remain a Queſtion. Of Diſputes of this Kind, and their Cauſe, we had a remarkable Inſtance in *England*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, when there were ſo many bloody Conflicts between *Prerogative* and *Privilege*, Words, which in that Age, for want of a written Explication were never thoroughly underſtood, and there-

At *Rome* the twelve Tables were written upon Braſs, and evey occaſional Law after——*cum approbata fuiſſet in æs incidebatur, et in Ærario condebatur, et tum demum lata dicebatur*, Varro. And when a Law had paſſed, it was hung up upon Braſs Tablets, in the moſt publick Places, that every one might have a View of it.

fore the fatal Variance continued between theſe two *Emblematical* Beings, (not unlike that of the Beaſts in the Prophet *Daniel*) till *Privilege* growing the ſtronger, devoured both the King, and the Church, and the Lives and Liberties of the People.

IT may be replied perhaps in this Place, that our Anceſtors had actually attempted to aſcertain in Writing the Power of our Kings by the Inſtrument, which they called the *great Charter*, and the ſtated Form of an Oath, at the Coronation. But in the Period, we now commemorate, and lament, when many affected to be Kings, there was more of this Sort remaining to be done, in order to ſecure the Peace of the Nation.

THE *great Charter* though Time, like a Will of old Date, which requires a Codicil, had left many Things undetermined. The King talked of a *Prerogative* which he could not fix, as thoſe who aimed at his Power, uſurped for Privileges, an Authority, which their Conſtituents had never given them.

IN this State of *Anarchy*, as one or the other Side prevailed, the miſerable People felt more than the common Calamities of War: Neighbours and Brethren, Parents and Children inhumanly butchered each other, preſenting to us a terrible and domeſtick Example of the Diſtractions which may attend on any Kingdom where the Laws

Laws in Proportion as they are verbal, leave thoſe, who are uppermoſt in Power, whether one or many without a determinate Rule for their own Conduct.

In ſuch Places any new Magiſtrate can never be ſafely guided to the Lawgiver's Meaning in any *Prerogative* Laws, merely by the Behaviour of his Predeceſſor, nor indeed in the common Laws, which are *penal*. For even in this Caſe every Man's Example would be various as his Temper: The merciful may love Mercy even to a Fault, as the Froward may uſe too great Severity. The Senſe therefore of the Lawgiver would be but imperfectly gathered from the particular Behaviour of any preceding Magiſtrate.

And much worſe from the Voice of the People. For excluſive of the natural Propenſity in Subjects, to gain Ground upon their Governors, it is obvious to obſerve from other common Cauſes, that Things delivered down by oral Tradition will be diminiſhed, encreaſed, or altered, according to the Temper, and Number of the Perſons among whom they are propagated.

The Generation who receive a Thing new and freſh conſign it over to the next in what Manner they pleaſe. A Father who likes this or that particular Ordinance, as he conceives it to be for the Good of Poſterity, delivers it to his Children in the moſt

ample, and pathetic Manner. Another who has different Sentiments, is more cold, negligent and ſparing in his Inſtructions,—ſlightly conveys what is too freſh in Memory to be wholly paſt in Silence,—leſſens as much as may be either the Authority of the Perſon enjoyning, or the Certainty or Uſefulneſs of the Injunction. Thus Perplexities and Alterations will increaſe in Proportion to the Number of Ages, wherein a Thing has ſubſiſted, and the Number of Hands in every Age, which were concerned in conveying it. *Religion* can furniſh us with a notable Example of this Kind.

UPON ſuch Matters as have not been committed to Writing by the Evangeliſts, Apoſtles, and other ancient Writers of the Church, great Diviſions have ariſen, which perhaps had been none at all; would People have impartially abidden by the written Oracles of Antiquity, and ſuffered thoſe to have been firſt in Eſteem, which ſtand firſt in Place and Authority.

THIS, which is a ſimilar Caſe, and true in Fact, may be ſufficient to confirm thoſe Probabilities I have mentioned concerning the Alterations, which may be made in ſuch human Laws as are reſted only upon oral Tradition. Old Uſages through Time, and a Corruption of Manners may be entirely worn out, and laid aſide; or from ſome remaining Hints ſcarce underſtood or miſinterpreted

terpretated by a new Spirit, and Temper in the People, new ones very different may ariſe. Or ſhould the old ones in ſome Meaſure ſubſiſt, it will be, but in ſome Meaſure, amidſt a Variety of Changes, and Corruptions.

It were hard to find any Inſtances in Hiſtory, of Authority ſufficient to weaken what has been advanced concerning the Changeableneſs and Uncertainty of Laws delivered down by oral Tradition. Nor was there ever any Nation of Antiquity which * could do it, but what found it neceſſary at one Time or other to commit ſomething at leaſt to Writing. The primary Law or *Rhetra* of the *Spartans*, which was indeed the only Law they had, was itſelf a Writing. Being but a State of ſmall Extent, they were governed almoſt as eaſily as a Family, and (after the patriarchal Scheme) more by the Authority of the elder People than by legal Regulations. And as long as this Authority, and the Straitneſs of their Education remained unaltered, Juſtice ſo

* Barbarous Nations, who had not the Uſe of Letters, were accuſtomed to ſing their Laws, becauſe by being *barbarous* they had but few of them. This in the Days of *Ariſtotle* was the Practice of the *Agathyrſi*, a People in the Neighbourhood of *Scythia*. But where oral Laws began to multiply, this Method by the Courſe of Nature could not preſerve them; and therefore the *Jews*, a People the fondeſt of any of Traditions, found it neceſſary in the ſecond Century, to commit them to Writing, which, with the Comment afterwards made upon them grew to an uncommon Bulk.

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long, or if not Juſtice, Obedience might remain among them. *Fortes & duri Spartiatæ: Magnam habet vim publica Diſciplina.* But the Queſtion before us is not, whether ſuch as are well educated can live without Laws: But whether Laws can be uſeful to ſuch as want them, unleſs they be written.

IT will appear more evidently, that they cannot, if we conſider.

IN the next Place the Difficulties, which in this Caſe a Magiſtrate muſt meet with in putting not only pre-eſtabliſhed Laws, but even his own Injunctions in Execution.

FOR immediate Errors may ariſe on the Side of the People; if not on the Side of the Governor. In any large Conſtitution, State or Kingdom which can be ſuppoſed to be governed by Laws merely verbal, we may conclude, that there are as many People out of the Hearing of Proclamations, as there are many amongſt us, who know not what Laws are enacted till Neceſſity drives them to that Knowledge, where there are written Laws theſe MAY *with Speed* and *Certainty* be made acquainted with the Intent of the Legiſlator; but where they are not written they can only have it from them, who themſelves had it by *Hearſay*; or they muſt make a Sort of Gueſs at it, and determine by their own *Reaſon*. *Hearſay* is to be ſure a Method far from infallible, and as for the Reaſon of any common Perſon, it cannot be allowed to be any tolerable

lerable Guide in the Matter. They will determine for their own Eaſe, according to the Circumſtances they are in, and call this Determination the Dictates of their Reaſon, which thus blinded by Self-intereſt, and miſled by Ignorance, muſt be very different from (what we will ſuppoſe) the upright Reaſon of their Governor. In this Caſe *civil* Duties would be as variouſly underſtood, and as ill performed as *religious* Duties were there no ſtanding Teſtimony of Divine Revelation, As without the *Bible* moſt People would be inclined to call Evil Good, and Good Evil: ſo without any Laws but their *own Reaſon*, or Laws which they are to find out by that. *Right* and *Wrong* would be confounded, and through Prejudice, Paſſion, and groſs Apprehenſion, Iniquity be put for Juſtice.

But beſides the Want of *Apprehenſion* in theſe vague and *verbal* Laws, ſuppoſe there ſhould ariſe a Diſpute about *Memory*, and that the People who really heard and underſtood them out of a malicious Subtilty, ſhould pretend to forget this or that Injunction. How is the *Magiſtrate* to ſet them to Rights, and clear up the Difficulty? Large Societies of Men cannot be governed without a Multiplicity of Laws. There are many Sets and Sorts of them which compoſe the Body *Politick*. Beſide ſome general Laws, to which all are ſubjected, every Set and Sort will want their *proper Rule* of Action,

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which, to prove of any Service, muſt be ſo prolix and particular, as that every Thing relating to that Claſs may be ordered and regulated by it. Any *one Law* relating to any ſuch ſubordinate Society upon Suppoſition it was only *deſigned in Words*, and not committed to Writing, would be often more than a Ruler could retain in all its Circumſtances. How impoſſible then would it be for him to remember *all the Laws* of thoſe different Sets of Men, that ſhould compoſe his whole Dominions? But if this be impoſſible, it follows, that ſuch a Ruler is as much to ſeek, and under as great Inconveniencies, as if he had no Laws at all. He knows not when they are broken, and therefore cannot puniſh for the Breach of them: He knows not the Bounds, that were ſet to his Authority, and therefore he may extend it too far, and commit an *Outrage*, where he ſhould be diſtributing *Juſtice*.

THUS I have conſidered a Magiſtrate in the two *ſeveral* Views propoſed, as governing by *verbal* Laws, and have ſhewn,

FIRST, The Difficulties he muſt meet with in putting *pre-eſtabliſhed* Laws in Execution, or ſuch as were Laws before his Authority commenced.

SECONDLY, The Incoveniencies attending the Execution of thoſe, which *he himſelf has enacted*.

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In the *firſt* Caſe he cannot come to any certain Knowledge of what was determined by any preceding Lawgiver at any little Diſtance of Time paſt. In the *ſecond*, what he enacts, eſcaping the Hearing of many of his Subjects, may be *miſtaken* by them; or being heard may be *forgotten*, perverſly, perhaps on their Side, by himſelf in good earneſt. So that it is abſolutely neceſſary, that Laws ſhould be written, becauſe otherwiſe they loſe *the Nature and Obligation of Laws*, and inſtead of proving a plain and *uniform Rule of Action*, leave the *Magiſtrate* in the Dark, and the *People* at Liberty.

And thus much of the Reaſon and Neceſſity for written Laws.

I come now *ſecondly*, to treat of the *Power, and Qualifications* of thoſe, who *write them.*

It was ſaid in the former Part of this Diſcourſe, that a Law was an *uniform Rule of Action*, and I gave it this Denomination from obſerving its Effects in producing an *Uniformity* in the Conduct of the People, which is owing to be ſure in great Meaſure to the Uniformity of the Direction it affords them upon moſt Occaſions. But tho' this be a Principal, it is yet but a coefficient, and not the ſole Cauſe of this regular Sameneſs of Behaviour. As Men are now conſtituted, ſubject to perverſe Humours, Paſſions and Irregularities: It is not ſufficient barely to ſhew them the *Way of Peace*

Peace, or give them a *Rule* to go by, unleſs we can ſome how compel them in Spight of the Deception of their Paſſions, to obſerve that Rule, and walk uprightly. To this Purpoſe therefore a Law muſt be not only *given*, but *enforced*, and ſome Expedient muſt be found, whereby the reaſonable Part of Mankind may be ſo far induced to concur with the *Magiſtrate* againſt the *Refractory*, as to aſſiſt him in compelling the other to Obedience. And for this there is but one Expedient which is ſuggeſted in the Text, namely, that his Laws, be written with the *Finger*, or in other Words *conformably to the Will* of God.

FOR which there are three ſpecial Reaſons.

FIRST, Becauſe they are only ſuch Laws as theſe, that can empower a Magiſtrate *of Right* to command Obedience.

SECONDLY, Becauſe they are only ſuch, that can be *uſeful*; and therefore

THIRDLY, Only ſuch, that even by the ſober Part of Mankind will be *readily ſubmitted to.*

FIRST, Then they are only ſuch Laws as are written conformably to the Will of God, that can empower the Magiſtrate of Right to command Obedience.

FOR all *Human* Powers become Powers, and derive their whole Force from conforming themſelves in their Conduct to the

Will

Will of God, as may be gathered from that Text of Scripture, * *The Powers that be, are ordained of God*, i. e. No Power can exiſt to any Purpoſe, which ſhall ſeek to enact any Thing otherwiſe than he wills, and ordains. Every *Act* of theirs which is oppoſed to God's Ordinances, is in itſelf null and void. And if the whole Adminiſtration of any Power be only a Repetition of ſuch Acts, then that Power ceaſes of Courſe to be a Legiſlature: The whole Series of Government from the very Beginning having been *illegal*, in being a Power oppoſing itſelf to the Ordinances of God, and by Conſequence no Power at all, ſince the Powers *that be*, muſt be ordained of him, and as ſuch muſt conform to his Ordinances in every Act of their Juriſdiction.

If any one think that this *Concluſion* is not fairly collected from the Paſſage of Scripture aboverecited, let him conſider upon this Occaſion the Nature of God's *Supremacy*.

For as he is the *ſupreme* Being, and the *Center* of all Power, the Power of *writing* Laws and *governing* by them muſt be *originally* and *independently* in him alone. Nothing under God can pretend to that Power, independent of him. For the Independency of any Power neceſſarily ſuppoſes *Supremacy*.

* *Rom.* viii. 1.

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As the *Supremacy* of God therefore gives to him alone the original and independent Power of making Laws, ſo it makes it a Property to his Laws, that his, and only his exclude all *Poſſibility of Doubt*, and Heſitation about the Obedience, which we are to render them.

BECAUSE there is no *Will* above his, which we can *offend*, or *Power* above his, which we need to *fear*. His abſolute *Dominion* removes every Doubt about his *Authority*. All Heſitation on that Head ariſing from a Fear of Offenſe to a Perſon more powerful than him, whom we are ordered to obey, and whoſe Diſpleaſure may therefore bring a greater Inconvenience upon ourſelves, than we can poſſibly expect from the other.

As therefore there is none more *powerful* than God, an *immediate* Obedience to his Laws is neceſſarily and inexcuſably due upon all Occaſions, which Thing is a great Intrenchment upon *human* Power, and lays us under a continual Neceſſity of *examining* human Injunctions by the *Rule* of God's Ordinances, in Order to ſee, that they do not claſh with them.

FOR, as Man is a *ſubordinate* Being, Laws preſcribed by any of human Race, are as different in their *Obligation*, from thoſe preſcribed by God, as a *Creature* is different from its *Creator*. The very Subordination of Man ſuppoſing a Dependence in his Power

Power to prescribe. It is of the Nature of human Laws therefore, by whomsoever they shall be enacted, that they cannot of Authority *command* Obedience, till they appear, upon the Case, to be agreeable to God's *Ordinances*. Because the *Supremacy* of God, and the *Subordination* of Man make this Difference between their Injunctions, that in complying with those of the Former, we cannot obey a wrong *Power*, or a wrong *Thing*, in complying with those of the Latter, we may do both. For when human Powers oppose the Will of God both the *Law*, and the *Magistracy* become *illegal*; nor can the Latter ever command Obedience, though invested with all the Authority, that can be given by the *arbitrary* Voice of Numbers, or the united Suffrage of all human Race.

Whereas Laws which are *conformable* to the Will of God, though the Magistrate enjoyning, have no *coercive* Power, would be obeyed for the sole Reason of their *Use* and *Excellence*.

Which leads me to *another* Argument, why all human Laws must be written, conformably to the Will of God, from the Consideration that only such can be *beneficial* to Mankind.

For if we confess, that the Laws of God, as far as they are discerned by us do all of them center in the *Happiness* of Men, both

of *Individuals*, and of whole *Societies* it is a natural Conſequence, that, whatever Injunctions oppoſe thoſe Laws, oppoſe at the ſame Time human *Happineſs*.

THIS Truth perhaps may be more particularly and evidently deduced, if we deſcend to ſome *ſingle* Inſtance.

IMAGINE then that *natural Equity* and *Juſtice*, one of the *fundamental* Laws of God, ſhould be violated for the Sake of ſome *oppoſite human* Law, and you will ſoon diſcern, in what Degree, that *human* Law will be *detrimental*.

FOR natural Juſtice and Equity having Regard to the *Reaſon* and *Fitneſs* of Things, and diſtributing to every one, what his *Circumſtances* in impartial *Right* require; the Law which goes about to reverſe it, muſt overturn all *Fitneſs*, oppoſe all *Reaſon*; and take from every one, what his Circumſtances in impartial *Right* require. Suppoſe the *Decemviri* at *Rome*, or the whole *Roman* Senate, or the Council of *five hundred* at *Athens* had made a *Decree*, and written it *not with the Finger of God*, that the beſt and ableſt of their Subjects, as indeed was too often the Cuſtom in both Places, ſhould be either baniſhed, or if they ſtaid at Home, not allowed Bread for the Support of themſelves and Families: Suppoſe yet further, that they had proceeded to Things unheard of, and commanded at a joyful Time, when the

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whole Body of their Citizens were about to celebrate a *Religious Feſtival*, that as many as could be apprehended, inſtead of going to a *Feaſt*, ſhould be hurried to a *Priſon*, torn from the Embraces of their Wives and Children, and without Regard to their unavailing Cries, ſhut up in continual Night, amidſt the Horrors of a loathſome *Dungeon*.

Could Laws like theſe be beneficial to to Society? or could any one pretend to deny, but that by conforming to them, all outward *Order* muſt be deſtroyed, and all inward *Peace* diſturbed? For what makes the Mind of Man eaſy is, that he ſees his Affairs run in the right Channel, and that he is dealt with in the Manner, that he might *reaſonably* expect to be dealt with: As on the contrary, if any thing reverſe the equitable Diſtribution of Things, by cauſing *Miſery*, it as neceſſarily cauſes *Anxity* and *Diſcontent*, as *Juſtice* produces *Peace* and *Harmony*.

Now when *outward* Order is deſtroyed, and the inward Peace of Men's Minds diſturbed, civil *Troubles* and Commotions muſt by Degrees enſue. For Happineſs is the End and Aim of all human Labour, we keep our Lives for its Enjoyment, and hazard them for its Purchaſe. Thus ſpirited, and thus informed, we may imagine, that People will be very much alarmed under the Apprehenſion of ſuch Laws, as threaten their

natural *Peace* and *Security*, and thereby deſtroy their *Happineſs*.

IT will appear therefore in the *third* Place, That ſuch Laws are not written conformably to the Will of God, by being of *no Uſe or Benefit*; but rather hurtful to Mankind will be attended with other Inconveniencience, that they will *rarely be received, or obeyed with Quietneſs*.

FOR *Diſcontent* and *Trouble* ſoon paſs into *open* Oppoſition. In this Caſe, it is only a Defect of the Means of Reſiſtence, or the Power of helping themſelves, which can keep People in Subjection, which Defect however is ſeldom of long Continuance, ſuppoſing that thoſe who are thus yoaked and ſubjected, are barely permitted but to live. Human Reſentment, when continually kept awake, will be contriving all the Means, and obſerving every Opportunity to reſiſt an unjuſt and tyrannick Injunction. Similitude of Misfortunes ſoon forms, and fixes an Alliance. Alliances multiply in an intereſting Cauſe. And as Strength increaſes, *Accidents*, when duly watched, are ſeldom wanting to furniſh an Opportunity for *open* and avowed Reſiſtence.

To which Men are encouraged by that other Conſideration, that the Law which oppoſes their Happineſs is likewiſe *oppoſite* to the *Laws* of God; and therefore at the

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ſame Time, that it would injure them, in Caſe, it were obeyed; it has really *no Right* to command Obedience. Strong Motives for them to diſobey! when beſides their *Intereſt*, other Reflections at the ſame Time naturally preſent themſelves, and give a *Religious Sanction* to their Cauſe; as, that they are *to obey God rather than Man*, and to regard him in the firſt Place, who is the *ſupreme* Lawgiver, and far more dreadful, and powerful in Puniſhment than earthly *Tyranny* in all it's *Terrors*,

THESE then are the Reaſons, why every human Law ſhould be written conformably to the Will of God, which is the ſole Circumſtance that can enforce it, and induce the *reaſonable* Part of Mankind to concur with the *Magiſtrate*, and aſſiſt him in carrying it into *Execution*. Upon the Whole then, every *good* Law may be thus defined. It ſhould be *an uniform Rule of Action, ſo clearly publiſhed in Writing, as fully to acquaint the Magiſtrate with the Extent of his Power, and the Subjects with the Meaſures of their Obedience, and for its Execution be enforced by its Conformity to the Divine Will*, i. e. *the Authority of God Almighty*.

Now if we were to try the Laws of many Nations by this Standard, we ſhould find Numbers of *Rules* and *Orders*, which have the *Face* of Law fall ſhort of it both in

Name and *Authority*. Every enlightened Age and Nation therefore to act conſiſtent with their Character ſhould get rid of ſuch half formed, or *monſtrous Inſtitutions*, which like *Monſters* in *Nature*, only bring with them Affright and Miſchief to human Race; and procure as ſoon as poſſible in their Room, Laws, which are *perfect* in their *Kind*, and productive of the publick GOOD.

FOR their Conduct herein, I have only a few Remarks to make by way of *Application*.

THE *firſt* is, That in Conntries where Men are at Liberty to make Choice of thoſe, who are to have an Hand in Writing their Laws, they ſhould conſider it, as the moſt important Thing in the World, to chooſe ſuch as have before their Eyes *the Fear of God*. For if *Legiſlator*, or *Legiſlators* do not *fear* him, it is not likely, that they ſhould *regard* his Will, or be at all concerned, whether what they write, or *order* be *agreeable* to it, or not.

AT the ſame Time, that there is this good Quality in them, there ſhould alſo be *another*. To wit, that they ſhould have ſome *competent* Diſcernment of the Will of God, be able, or well-diſpoſed at leaſt, to ſtudy his Laws, and if not ripe in *Years*, ſomewhat mature in *Underſtanding*.

AGAIN, being thus *well-diſpoſed* and *qualified* in themſelves, they ſhould alſo give

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ſome *Pledge* or Earneſt of their good Diſpoſition, to others. For this there is ſpecial Reaſon, Men truſt not their *Subſtance* with each other without *good Security*, and for their *Liberties*, which include both their *Subſtance* and the *Power* of enjoying it,— Why ſhould they be left at Mercy?

A SECURITY of this Sort is what every *wiſe* People will demand, and it is what no *honeſt* Man can with any good Grace deny, *eſpecially* in thoſe Governments where in this Caſe the *ſupreme* Magiſtrate himſelf makes even his *Oath* his Obligation, as is the Practice of the KINGS in *England*.

FOR though what is vulgarly called the *Conſtitution*, has gone through ſuch a Variety of Changes, that were *Alfred* the Great, or *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, or any of the firſt *Framers* of it to have riſen from the Dead, and beheld at certain Periods the Alterations which have *deformed* or *encumbered* their *Machine*, they would perhaps ſcarce have known their Work again; yet there remain to this very Day ſome *Maſter-Strokes* and *Signatures* which it is hoped no *Time* will ever wear, or *Force* deſtroy. Among other Advantages we are ſtill permitted to ſay, that we are governed by a KING, a *Form* of Government, which, excepting the Time of the late *popular Uſurpations*, the ENGLISH have enjoyed now about thirteen hundred Years, immediately upon their Arrival from

Germany, and Settlement here in *Britain*. It is our Felicity too, that we have a Prince upon the Throne of the ſame * *Original* with thoſe great Legiſlators afore-mentioned, one, who well underſtands their Marks and Characters, like them mature in Years, of long and extenſive Experience in the Science of a King, and willing on his Part to do all he can for the Good of all his Subjects.

THUS circumſtanced, let the *Cataſtrophe* of this Day admoniſh us to avoid all haſty Animoſities, and raſh Sallies againſt our Sovereign, bleſt as we are even yet with Freedom, let us *freely* conſider from the Leſſon before us, how far the crafty Deſigns, or the wanton and licentious Folly of Men may ſometimes operate to our Deſtruction, and watch diligently even the accidental Introduction or Growth of any Power, which ſhall oppoſe itſelf to the fundamental Laws of the Nation, that by providing againſt it in due Time, we may preſerve his *Crown* and *Dignity* to our Prince, and *Safety*, Peace and Happineſs to the People.

* *Engliſh Saxon.*

THE

THE SPEECH OF Dr. JOHN FREE,

CONTAINING,

A concise and clear Account of the *English* Constitution, both *Old* and *New*: And of the Rise, and Progress of the *modern* Part of that Assembly, which we now call the *Parliament*.

Delivered *July* 30, 1753.

To the Worshipful the *Mayor*, Aldermen, and Citizens, at the *Town-Hall* in OXFORD, upon taking up his *Freedom* of the CITY.

עלי-דשוא הינוק פרא JOBUS *Patiens.*

—*Suspecto Senatus* Populique *imperio, ob certamina* Potentium, —*invalido legum Auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur—cum alii* sacerdotia *et Consulatus ut* spolia *adepti, procurationes alii, et interiorem Potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti* [cum essent] *in Dominos servi—et quibus dederat* inimicus *per* amicos *oppressi.*

C. CORNELIUS *Tacitus.*

The Wound received at the *Norman-french* Invasion was like that of an *envenomed* Dart, it conveyed a Poison, which may long be lurking in the Veins of our Mother-Country. Our Constitution hath never recovered itself so far, as to retain for *any Time*, the healthy State of an *equal* Mixture. SERMON *before the* Antigallicans.

The THIRD EDITION.

DR. *FREE*'S

SPEECH at the *Town-Hall* in *Oxford*.

Mr. MAYOR and GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for the Honour of being admitted, according to your ancient Uſages, to the Freedom of my *native* City. I think there is ſomething highly honourable even in the Name of *Freedom:* It is a Word, that hath been long in Uſe in this Iſland; it is neither of *Greek*, *Latin* nor *French* Original but entirely *Engliſh*. For our Anceſtors brought it with them from *Lower Saxony*. And as long as the *old Engliſh Government* or *Conſtitution* ſubſiſted, they not only retained the *Name*, but held alſo, and enjoyed the *Thing:* which they looked upon as a Jewel ſo valuable to themſelves and their Poſterity, as never to be weighed in the Balance with any temporary Wealth, or Profit whatſoever. Becauſe they knew that Things of this Kind were of no Value unleſs they could be uſed, and that thoſe, who had loſt their

their *Freedom* muſt loſe alſo, by their *Captivity*, their Power to uſe them. They therefore in the firſt Place retained their Liberty as a Bleſſing in itſelf, and the ſole Means of procuring, or reliſhing every other Enjoyment.

THESE Sentiments generally prevailed among the *Engliſh* till the Death of *Harold* the Second, when not attending to the Value of it, they began to loſe Sight of their Liberty: And through their baſe Dealing at that Juncture, we their unhappy Deſcendents have ſeen it, but by Glimpſes ever ſince.

I SHALL make this very plain by conſidering the various Exceſſes and Fluctuations in the Conſtitution, from the Time, wherein the BASTARD of *Normandy* aided by an Army from *Flanders* and the *Empire*, gained that Battle wherein King *Harold* loſt at once his Life and Crown; and in Conſequence of which, the People were deprived of their ancient Form of Government. For this *Uſurper* taking Advantage of the Diſunion of a Nation without an Head, compelled the Majority of thoſe, who had *Power* and *Place*, in the *old* ENGLISH Government to attend him, in much the ſame Manner as they had done our ancient Kings, but finding them in this *Form* untractable, he determined to alter the *Conſtitution*. The *French* Word *Parliament*, till the NORMANS came,

came, was quite unknown in *England*: Nor did we ever read of an *Houſe* of *Commons*. Our Kings were aſſiſted occaſionally, by and with the Advice of a general Council, which from the *Number* of its Aſſeſſors was called *Myckel Mote*, or *great* Meeting: And from their Qualifications, *Wittenagemote* or Meeting of *Wiſe-Men*. The *whole* Aſſembly were called alſo by the general Name of *Wites*, or *Rice-men*, that is, People of the *Government*, though they were divided into ſeveral Claſſes, as firſt the *Elder Thanes* comprehending the *Ealdermen* or *Dukes*, then the *Earles*: After theſe the *leſſer Thanes*, who are diſtinguiſhed *only* by that Title. Before the *Earles* we find the Churchmen *Arch-biſhops*, and *Lead-biſhops*, that is the Lords of *Dioceſes* and others of the greater Clergy. Of this Aſſembly thoſe who were moſt obnoxious as well as dangerous to the *Norman* Tyrant were thoſe of the Rank of *Earles*, and *Thanes*; the latter Order he by Degrees aboliſhed entirely, erecting upon the Ruins of their *Honour*, the Power and *Title* of the *Norman Barons*, with a Deſign by this new Order to eat out likewiſe, and annihilate as much as might be the *Engliſh Earles*. For in ancient Times, the *Earles*, as well as thoſe few of the Nobility, who were *Dukes* inhabiting upon the Spot, from whence they took their Titles were *naturally*, and by *Office*

much

much more than *Lord-lieutenants* in their ſeveral Counties: And therefore while others were for fixing the *Uſurper*, theſe were often to his Prejudice raiſing and heading Armies. So then to depreſs the Aſſertors of *Engliſh* Liberty, not only the *Thanes*, but alſo the *greater* Nobility were murthered or miſplaced, or what remained of them, ſo lowered, and overmatched by the Exaltation of the *Norman* Order of *Barony*, that the old *Engliſh* Peerage and Power were by Degrees eclipſed, and the Government of the Nation being of a *military* Form was *jointly* in the Hands of the Uſurper, and his *Baron*-captains.

THIS was one of the Periods, when our Anceſtors ſaw not a *Glimpſe* of LIBERTY.

THEY were in hopes of a View of it not long after, but the ſeeming Light was but a falſe Appearance, and like the *Ignis fatuus* a mere Deluſion. The *Norman* Kings though ſeemingly Supreme, being in Effect but *Joint-tenants* of Sovereignty with the Barons, the Body began to quarrel with the Head, and to do it with the better Face, they talked of *Liberty*: But, alaſs, the Liberty they talked of, however by Accident it turned out afterwards, was never intended for the Subject. The Alteration was only with a View to erect their own Order into petty Tyrants, and plume themſelves with the Feathers they ſhould pluck from

Royalty.

Royalty. For as at the Beginning of the *Norman* Power, their Form of Government by *King* and *Barons* reſembled that of *Oliver Cromwel* and his Council of Officers: So within a little Period it changed ſo far, as to be ſcarce reſembled by any Power now in *Europe*, unleſs it be that of *Poland*. For by the Reign of King JOHN it came to ſuch a Paſs, that thoſe they called the *Barons* were in their ſeveral Territories independent and intolerable Tyrants, the *King* a Cypher, and the *People* Slaves.

THIS was the State of Things in the Reign of *King* JOHN, who beſide the Inſolence and *Faction* of the Nobles had the Power and *Interdicts* of the *Pope* to ſtruggle with. It may be a Matter worth noting by the Way, what fatal Influence the *Power* of the Popes, or the *Notions* and Apprehenſions of that Power as entertained by Princes and People have had upon the *Engliſh* Liberties. In the Time of *King* JOHN, it was the Inſtrument of depreſſing all the Attempts of the King for his own, and the People's Liberty, and the Means of aſſiſting and eſtabliſhing the Nobles in their intended Tyranny; which grew to ſuch an inſufferable Pitch in the Reign of *Henry* the *Third*, that the unhappy King, though with the Colours of Royalty about him, was carried about like a Parrot in a Cage by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and obliged like one of thoſe

thoſe Animals to utter only juſt ſuch Words as his Keeper ſhould dictate. After many and various Struggles, ſucceeding Princes aſſiſted by Time and Policy, found Means to diſſolve their Tyranny: However from the ſame Root of Bitterneſs, the *Norman* Itch of *Ariſtocracy*, there aroſe another Branch, which not being properly watched grew much too high, and extending itſelf with baneful Influence, overſhadowed, withered, and extinguiſhed MONARCHY. The *Seeds* of this *Revolution* were ſown ſo long before, as in the Reign of *Henry* the *Third*, when there were many fatal Changes in the *Conſtitution*. The *Kingly* Power ceaſed while the *King* was yet alive, and the Government fell into the Hands of two or three People. The Faction of the *Barons*, who had the *King* in their Cuſtody, not thinking their Bottom broad enough while the People held a natural Veneration for him, and Concern for his Liberty, were induced to let them alſo taſte the Fruits of ſuch a gainful *Monopoly*, as that, which engroſſed at once the *Prerogative* of the *King*, and the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects; an Order therefore was diſpatched to the *Conſervators* (a new *Magiſtracy*) to ſend four *Knights* from each County to ſit as *Repreſentatives* of their reſpective *Shires* in *Parliament*. For now that *French* Word began to be much in Faſhion, inſtead of *Myckel-*

Myckel-mote and *Wittena-gemote*, by which our *Engliſh* Anceſtors called the great Council of the Land. And indeed we had no Title to uſe the ancient Name ſince the Aſſembly was now of another Form. For from theſe Beginnings aroſe that *new Appearance* in the Senate of *England*, which was afterwards formed into a Chamber by itſelf under the Name of the HOUSE of *Commons*. In the Year 1264, there were *four* Repreſentatives for the *Shires*. But the Combination, who governed at that Time of Day, finding good Reaſon for *Exchanging* their Parliaments, leſt by being long together they ſhould think of naughty Things, or ſerve bad Purpoſes: There was another Parliament in the Year 1265, with a new Mixture of *elective* Commoners, there being two *Knights* Repreſentatives of each *County*, and of each *City* and *Borough* as many *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes*.

IN all theſe later Periods the FREEDOM of *England* ſeemed to appear, and diſappear acccording to the *Character, and Abilities* of the Prince. For it is very certain, that a Prince, who cannot maintain his own Liberty, will never be able to defend the Liberties of his People. For this Reaſon, the People ſhould always ſtrengthen the Hands of a *good* KING; becauſe in ſo doing they ſtrengthen themſelves, againſt any of thoſe dangerous *Foremen*, who may prove at once

their own and their Maſter's Enemies. But to return to my Remarks, "that in the "Reigns abovementioned, and in others "ſucceeding, the Freedom of *England* "ſeemed to appear and diſappear accord-"ing to the *Character*, and *Abilities* of the "Prince."

DID *Edward* the Firſt, a Prince of glorious Courage, and Capacity, ſuffer any to oppreſs himſelf, or oppreſs his People? With all the Additions, the *Barons* made to their Aſſembly from the COMMONS, they were not able to abridge him of the proper *Power*, and *Activity* of a King.

BUT they broke out again upon his Succeſſor, and all the ſucceding KINGS to *Henry* the Seventh, as they wanted military Power or political Capacity were *Slaves* themſelves, or ſaw their People *Slaves* to the Inſolence of their *Nobles*, who at the ſame Time that they were *Makers of Kings* were ſure to be *Deſtroyers* of *Subjects*. This exorbitant Power of theirs was ſo ſenſibly felt by *Henry* the Seventh, that he ſet himſelf to invent a Remedy, which though a temporary Remedy for him, proved to Poſterity as bad as the Diſeaſe. For it was the Foundation of the after *unconſtitutional* Elevation of the Houſe of *Commons*.

CONSIDERING ſince that Time the Similitude of the Power of this Houſe to that of the *Norman Barons*, and its occaſional Riſe from

from *them*, I called it a *Branch*. You may give it any other Name if you will, it was certainly ſomething, which grew apace. By the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, they had their Speaker at their Head and were gathered into a Body by themſelves.

Henry the Seventh finding them in this forward Condition, and being deſirous to pull down the *Nobles* by their Means, threw as much of the Power of the State into the Hands of the *Commons* as poſſible: So that if *Henry* the Eighth his Son, had not been a bloody Tyrant himſelf and kept them in Order by the Fear of Execution, they would have been too powerful for him. The ſhort Reign of *Edward* the Sixth and his Minority gave them Advantages again: But the Reign of *Mary* being *popiſh* and aſpiring to that oppoſite Kind of Tyranny, *unlimited* MONARCHY, was by no means auſpicious to *Popularity*.

I HAVE before obſerved the Effects, which the *Power*, or the *Fear* of Popery have had, not only on our *religious*, but *civil* Liberties. No ſooner was *Mary* dead, but *Elizabeth*, for fear of harbouring ſome *Prieſt* in Diſguiſe, took Care that there ſhould be very *little* Learning in *her* Houſe of *Commons*. Ignorance in Power ſoon grows turbulent: It was not long before they gave her ſaucy Anſwers. Which to a Woman of her high *Spirit* were extremely

diſagreeable; but her *Penetration* and *Hypocriſy* came in to the Aſſiſtance of her *Pride*, and ſo ſhe ſaved Appearances. By reading *Demoſthenes* and *Tully*, and other Writers, who treat of the tickliſh Government of a popular State, ſhe perceived the Danger of oppoſing herſelf to an *Ariſtocracy*, the Extent of whoſe Influence ſhe could not ſee. For though ſhe never ſhewed her *Diſtreſs* as a *Princeſs*, nor indeed was it ever ſo great, as that of King *John*, yet there was ſomething very *ſimilar* in their Caſes. As *John* had to engage with the *Pope*, on one Hand, and the *Barons* on the other; ſhe alſo was continually alarmed by the *Pope*; and apprehenſive of the growing Power of the *new Barons* of the Houſe of *Commons*, of whom ſhe bought her Peace by imperceptibly yielding her *Prerogative*, and by her ſoothing and cajoling Speeches, which ſhe conceived in ſuch ſort of Terms, that her People might believe, that to be the Effect of *Condeſcenſion* and *Goodneſs*, which only proceeded from Neceſſity, and Fear. However by Arts like theſe, ſhe made Things *laſt her Time*, and never let the Vulgar diſcern, that the Balance of Power, which ſhe held in *England* was become unequal. But when *James* the Firſt came to the Crown, the Weight of the *Houſe* of Commons was not to be concealed, he not only *found* them, but *called* them KINGS: They permitted him

him indeed to enjoy that *Title*, but they aimed at the *Power*; and he went on preaching about his *Prerogative*, while they looked grave without, and laughed within. For Matters were haſtening apace to that Event, when even the *Name* of Royalty ſhould be no more, to ſhew the Meaning of the Times, plain *Charles Stuart* was the Word, and the Scene opening diſcovered the Murder of the *King*, and a Set of *new Governors* buſy in effacing all the *Acts* and *Monuments* of *Royal* Power. It is ridiculous to charge this *great* Revolution upon *Religion* alone, the Seeds of which, I have already obſerved were ſown ſo long before as the Reign of *Henry* III. To bring it about there was one *conſtant*, and many *accidental* Cauſes, but *Religion* throughout the whole, however ſtrong, was only a *changeable*, *ſecondary* Inſtrument.

THESE have been the *Fluctuations* of this Kingdom from the Time, that the *old Engliſh* Syſtem was altered by the *Norman* Tyranny, till the *Kingly* Government, which had ſubſiſted ſo many hundred Years in *England*, was for a While entirely deſtroyed by the *unnatural* Power of the Houſe of *Commons*, and the People thereby thoroughly enſlaved. But the Miſeries and Diſtractions of this *Uſurpation* were too great to continue long. *Monarchy* was ſo eſſential to our *Conſtitution*, that the *Directors* of the

new Syſtem were ſoon convinced, that neither the *Forms of* LAW, nor any *material* Inſtrument of *Goverment* could ſubſiſt without it: And therefore they wanted at leaſt the Figure of a King, and *Charles* II. was very little more. For coming in by *Courteſy* and not by *Conqueſt*, he was forced to proceed very tenderly. The *Monarchy* might have recovered itſelf *gradually* perhaps, by continuing without Convulſion through another REIGN, but *James* II. by his Attachment to Popery overſet it all. King *William* III. came in upon his Declaration for a free Parliament, but whatever Security he might give his People againſt any Attempts from himſelf, he could procure them none againſt the Attempts of their own *Repreſentatives*. They began to impriſon his Subjects in *Kent*, and yet refuſed to bring them to a *Trial* *. The Spirit of the Nation could no longer bear ſuch Inſolence as this; 200,000 *Engliſtmen* threatned the *Houſe* of *Commons*, which had ſo good an Effect, that they pretended to aſk the *King*'s Protection. What is reported of the King, that he propoſed to the *Houſe* to collect their Privileges in *Writing*, that he might paſs them into a Law, is moſt likely to have happened at that Juncture. If ſuch a Thing were in Agitation, ſo noble and generous a Propoſal from a *crowned*

* See Appendix No. I.

Head,

Head, for the *Benefit* of the *Subjects*, was yet evaded by their *Repreſentatives*. For which it would be hard to aſſign any other Cauſe, than that they had a *ſecret* Intereſt of their own to ſerve, diſtinct both from that of *King*, and *People* *. The Neglect of ſuch a *Criſis* was attended with the Conſequences it deſerved, and the Caſe of the *Petitioners* from KENT was in the Reign of Queen *Anne* more than paralleled by that of the Men of *Aylesbury* *. Both very hard Caſes, *Gentlemen*, and yet ſuch may be the Caſe of *every Man* in *England*, if we want Senſe, and Honeſty, and Courage enough, to move for ſome Law, to prevent it. For God's Sake then lay aſide for a Time all *leſſer* Diſtinctions, and turn your Eyes to a moſt *material* Article; an Article of *national* and *general* Concern, which affects all *Parties* and *Conditions*; every *King*, that ſhall ſit upon the THRONE, and every *Man*, that ſhall ever be a *Subject*.

FOR if an Houſe of Commons can at Pleaſure exerciſe ſuch a Power as was exerciſed in the Caſes abovementioned, we abſolutely depend upon their Humour, and cannot promiſe ourſelves Security a Moment in our own Houſes, while at the ſame Time the *King* and the *Laws* (as yet in Being) by affording us no Protection will become uſeleſs. It is of the laſt Importance

* Appendix No. 3.

therefore for you to enquire, whether ſuch a *ſtrange* Sort of Power hath of late been exercited. You have certainly Liberty to do this, if you have any Liberty at all. The Licence granted by the *Kings* of *England* to your Repreſentatives for *Freedom of Speech and Counſel*, is granted for your Sakes; and therefore may truly be ſaid to be a *Licence* at your Service. Uſe it then in the Name of God, eſpecially at this conſtitutional Criſis, when you will have an Opportunity not only of telling the Grievances, you may have ſuffered from your own *Repreſentatives*, and upbraiding any of them with their paſt Ignorance, and Miſconduct, but alſo of propoſing to them ſome Terms for your Security before you make another Choice. It would be ſurprizing indeed, if after you have bound down the *Power* of KINGS by *Magna Charta*, and the *Bill* of *Rights*, that the Houſe of Commons, who are Creatures of your own making, may notwithſtanding under the Notion of Privilege, exerciſe over you a more unlimited Power than that of Kings.

IT is ſuch a *Power* as our KINGS can never grant: Becauſe they *have it not* to give. And how far the PEOPLE have ever granted, or conſented to it, would appear to all the World; if they were to propoſe to every Candidate at the enſuing Election ſuch a PROVISION for their *Liberties* as this.

SIR,

SIR,

" YOU ſhall promiſe under your Hand " and Seal (and in the Performance " of that Promiſe, your *own* HONOUR, and " that of your *Poſterity* ſhall be concerned) " that when you take your Seat in *Parlia-* " *ment*, you will never attempt to erect in " the *Houſe* of *Commons*, a Power ſuperior " to, or independent of, that of the *Laws* " and the KING: But that you will with " all convenient Speed endeavour to procure " a Bill, which ſhall faithfully explain, " and define, what is meant by the *Privi-* " *leges* of the HOUSE of *Commons*; that every " *Elector* in the Kingdom may know as " well as *you*, the Extent of that Power, " which he truſts in the Hands of a Fel- " low-Subject.

" YOU ſhall deny none of the *King*'s Sub- " jects, who are untried and uncondemned, " the Uſe, Benefit and Protection of the " Laws of *England:* Nor ever attempt to " ſtop, or over-rule the *due* Courſe of Law " by JURIES, in any of the King's Courts " of Juſtice.

" YOU ſhall deny none of the *King*'s " Subjects the Rights and Privileges con- " firmed to them by *Magna Charta*, or any " other *Charter*, Act, or *Bill* containing and " explaining *Rights:* Nor deem any to be " Privileges of the Houſe, which you do

" not

" not know to be ſuch, by ſome *Grant* or " *Charter* of the CROWN; or by ſome *anti-* " *ent*, and *undoubted* CUSTOM, eſtabliſhed, " and continued with the *free* Conſent and " Liking of the People.

" AND becauſe it is of the utmoſt Im- " portance, not only to your *Conſtituents*, " but alſo to the whole *Body* of the NATI- " ON, that no *Miſtake* be made, either in the " *Explication* of ſuch old Grants or *Charters*, " or concerning the Antiquity and *Reality* " of *Precedents* and *Cuſtoms*: You ſhall far- " ther conſent, when the *Bill* is prepared, " and before it *paſs* the *Houſe*; to commu- " nicate *printed* Copies thereof, to your *Con-* " *ſtituents*, that they may peruſe them, for " the Space of *two* Months; and gather " thereupon the Advice of ſuch of their " Body, as are well ſeen, and read in the " *Antiquities*, and *Laws* of ENGLAND. To " the Intent, that if any Objection can be " fairly raiſed; the *Bill*, in the Part object- " ed to, may upon *Memorial* or *Petition* " modeſtly preſented, be ſubject to your af- " ter-thought, and further Amendment, or " Alteration."

SUCH a *Proviſion* for their *Liberties*, where they are truſted in any *Hands* beſides their *own*, is what every *wiſe* NATION will demand: And what no *honeſt* Man can with any good Grace deny, eſpecially as Things

are

are eſtabliſhed here in *England*. For as our Conſtitution does exact from our SOVEREIN himſelf, in this Particular, the *high* and *ſacred* Obligation of an *Oath*: It puts it in our Power no doubt to demand *ſome Compact* from any inferior Perſon, in whom we are to lodge a Power, which may be occaſionally turned againſt our *Lives* and Liberties. Otherwiſe there would be People more *exempt* from the Obſervance of the *Laws*, and conſequently more arbitrary, that is, ſuperior to the KING himſelf: But a Set of Men *ſuperior* to the KING are no Part of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; and therefore the *Engliſh* Conſtitution is *againſt* ſuch People. But thoſe whom the *Engliſh* Conſtitution is *againſt*, are *againſt* the *Engliſh* Conſtitution.

FURTHER as a *diſcretionary* Power, and Dominion in the Houſe of Commons, over the *Lives* and *Liberties* of their Fellow-Subjects, or over the *Laws*, which are to protect thoſe Lives and Liberties, is thus directly oppoſite to the *eſſential* and fundamental Parts of our Conſtitution: So is it contrary to the very *Being* of their own Aſſembly—to the *Character*, they aſſume to themſelves, and the *Idea*, the WORLD entertains of them.

FOR ſhould a *Foreigner*, deſirous to know the *Uſes* of our CONSTITUTION, aſk an *Engliſhman*—What *Occaſion* have you for an *Houſe* of *Commons*? His Anſwer no doubt would

would be, *to defend the Liberties of the People.*—Upon which ſhould the *Foreigner* aſk farther,—but what if inſtead of *defending*, you put it in their Power to *deſtroy* them? —the *Engliſhman* perhaps might bluntly reply—That *then*, and *in that Caſe*—there would be *no Occaſion* for an *Houſe* of *Commons*.

So that conſidering the *uſe*, and proper *conſtitutional* Meaning of this Houſe, and the *Right* you have as *free* Electors to know the *Sentiments* of your future *Repreſentatives* (which cannot well be done but by acquainting them with your *own*.) You have in the Reaſon of the Thing a Right alſo to propoſe to them, the *aforementioned*, or any *ſimilar* PROVISIONS. They are at Liberty, to be ſure, to receive, or reject them: But it is not likely, that any *honeſt*, *well-meaning* Gentlemen would be unwilling to limit, by a *written* Law, a *Power*, which a *free* Conſtitution can *never* give them, and which (if they *thought* they poſſeſſed) while there is a KING and LAWS in *England*, they may be aſhamed to own.

AND now, *Gentlemen*, I have only to add a Word or two, to vindicate this my *unpoliſhed* Addreſs from *Miſrepreſentation*. I am, well aware, when People ſerve their COUNTRY upon *Principle*, without Regard to the intereſted Views, either of their *own*, or *another* PARTY; that, as they ſtudy to pleaſe

neither,

neither, they may poſſibly be miſrepreſented by *both*. A *Courtier* may ſay perhaps (for there is often a Difference to be made between the *Party* of a *Court* and the *Party* of a *King*) I ſay a Courtier might inſinuate that this Man is changing his *Principles*, and turning *Jacobite*. Gentlemen, you all know with what ſteady Affection my Father adhered to the Intereſt of the preſent Royal Family; and as I was born, and educated in this Place, you have been Eye-witneſſes likewiſe of my own Conduct. If Oppoſition to *unconſtitutional* and arbitrary Power (where-ever I find it) make the Character of a *Whig*: I may fairly be ſaid to come under that Denomination; moſt eſpecially when I declare, as I have done in my *Writings*, and do now, very conformably to the Oath I have taken,—" that if there be " any ſuch Thing as *hereditary* Right, the " Title would certainly belong to his Ma- " jeſty *King* GEORGE—and that to any one " who ſtudies *Engliſh* Hiſtory, he will ap- " pear to be of the moſt antient Race both " of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Kings." This is not the Declaration of a *Jacobite*.

AND leſt any Gentlemen, who call themſelves *Tories*, ſhould think me a *miniſterial* Tool, and that I am come to execute ſome *Scheme* of theirs; I frankly declare, and, I think, the Thing ſpeaks for itſelf, that I never had Friends or Intimates about the *Court*.

Court. I have, upon trying Occaſions, ſerved a *Prince*, and a *good* Prince too, who is not permitted to take Notice of me; and *defended* a *Religion* which, as it is by Law eſtabliſhed, ought to have afforded me better Bread. But I did not then foreſee, that it was growing out of Date; becauſe, in that Caſe I might reaſonably have thought, that it's *beſt* Preferments muſt *in Policy* go to it's *worſt* Defenders. I do not pretend by this to any uncommon Degree of Merit as a *Churchman*, though I defy the World to convince me of a baſe or wicked Action. If I have been thrown into *humbler* and more *laborious* Scenes of Life, than may ſuit with my *Degree*, and the Years I have now paſſed over, it is a Fate I ſuſtain in common with many others, more *antient* and more *worthy* Clergymen. I muſt obſerve however, that, though this Circumſtance of much Company, may teach a Man ſome Conſtancy in ſuffering, it does not take from *him* or *them*, the *Right*, or *Reaſon* to complain. For *Communities* were made for *Men*, as well as *Men* for *Communities*: And therefore every *Community* ought *reciprocally* to afford *them* the firſt Protection, who by being in their Places it's *beſt Subjects*, have thereby been it's *beſt Support*. If ſuch People are not treated according to their *Wants* and *Station*, it is plain the *Community* has *another* POWER within it, oppoſing and

and counteracting *it's own*. For which Reaſon, as it can never be thought a *ſafe* or a *good* one; ſo neither in ſuch a Condition can it *long* ſubſiſt. Circumſtances like theſe have always led me to think very ill of a Form of Government *too much Republican*. Becauſe in ſuch Places, there being no SUPERIOR to *watch*, and *check*, Men have it in their Power to form themſelves into *Juntos*, and *Combinations*; and without Regard to the *general* Good of Society, to ſeek only their own Continuance, in order to do juſt what they pleaſe. In ſuch Governments we generally find that Honeſty is either overlooked or elſe oppreſt and poor. Thus at ATHENS, we read, that *Ariſtides* was baniſhed for meriting to be called the Juſt: And of the old Heroes of *antient* ROME, there were many, who left not wherewithal to bury them. * * * * * * * * * * * * *The Reſt of this* Speech *having no great Relation to* publick *Matters, is omitted upon that Account.* *

APPEN-

APPENDIX. Number I.

The CASE *of the* Kentiſh PETITIONERS.

IT was in the Midſt of thoſe Clamours, that ecchoed thr ugh the Kingdom, and the univerſal Diſſatisfaction of the People at the Proceedings of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, &c. that the Gentlemen of *Kent* petitioned them, in a very humble Manner, to *have regard to the Voice of the People, and provide effectually for their Religion and Safety*, &c.

It was ſigned by all the Deputy Lieutenants there preſent, above twenty Juſtices of the Peace, all the Grand Jury, and other Freeholders then there.

This Petition was offered to the Houſe on the 8th of *May*, 1701; the Gentlemen who deliver'd it, and own'd it at the Bar of the Houſe, were Mr. *William Colepepper*, Mr. *Thomas Colepepper*, Mr. *David Polhill*, Mr. *Juſtinian Champneys*, and Mr. *William Hamilton*; for ſo I find all their Names written in the Votes, without the Addition of *Eſq*; though four of them were Juſtices of the Peace, and two Deputy Lieutenants of the County. Concerning the Petition, the Houſe came to this Reſolution, That it was *Scandalous, Inſolent, and Seditious*, &c. The five Gentlemen they ordered to be taken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. The Treatment they had from him was very ſingular, and ſhewed that they were under the high Diſpleaſure of the Houſe; for when he accidentally ſaw two of them talk together, he drew his Sword upon the Deputy for permitting it: And when upon one of thoſe Gentlemen's demanding a Copy of their Commitment, which they reckoned they had a Title to by Virtue of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and he refuſing it, the Gentleman ſaid, he hoped the Law would do him Juſtice, his Reply was, that *he car'd not a Fart for the Law*. The Reverence of the Law is fallen very low indeed, when one who has the Honour of being a Servant to the Houſe of Commons, can preſume to make ſo bold with it. However this Speech was of a Piece with the Declaration he had made the Gentleman before, "That he had unbounded Liberty of uſing them at *Diſ-*" *cretion*, that he could confine them at Pleaſure, put them " into Dungeons, lay them under Ground, &c. And indeed, by the *Miſeries* and Naſtineſs of their Confinement, one would imagine that the Power of the *Inquiſition* was at that Time ſubſiſting in the *nominally* very *free* Country of *England*

England. The People however being *warned* and *taking* Warning, there came a *Memorial* incloſed in the following Billet directed to *R——t H——y*, Eſq; S——r to the Houſe of Commons.

Mr. S——r,

THE Memorial you are charged with, in the Behalf of many Thouſands of the good People of England.

There is neither Popiſh, Jacobite, Seditious, Court, *or* Party Intereſt *concerned in it; but Honeſty and Truth.*

You are commanded by Two Hundred Thouſand Engliſhmen, *to deliver it to the H——e of C——s, and to inform them, that it is no Banter, but ſerious Truth; and a ſerious Regard to it is expected; nothing but Juſtice, and their Duty is required, and it is required by them who have both a Right to require, and Power to compel,* viz. *the People of* England.

We could have come to the Houſe ſtrong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any Tumults, not deſiring to Embroil, but to Save our Native Country.

If you refuſe to communicate it to them, you will find Cauſe in a ſhort Time to repent it.

THIS was not delivered by a Woman, as was ſaid, but by the very Perſon who wrote it, guarded by about ſixteen Gentlemen of Quality, who if any Notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by Force.

THE *Memorial* among other Things, contained a Claim of Right under *ſeven* Heads, of which the three former run thus:—" We do hereby claim and declare, *Firſt*, That it is " the undoubted *Right* of the People of *England*, in caſe " their Repreſentatives in Parliament do not proceed ac- " cording to their Duty, and the People's Intereſt, to in- " form them of their Diſlike, diſown their Actions, and to " direct them to ſuch Things as they think fit, either by " Petition, Addreſs, Propoſal, Memorial, or any other " peaceable Way.—*Secondly*, That the Houſe of Commons " *ſeparately*, and otherwiſe than by *Bill legally paſſed into an* " *Act*, have no *legal* Power to *ſuſpend or diſpenſe with the* " *Laws of the Land*, any more than the KING has by his " *Prerogative.—Thirdly*, That the Houſe of Commons has " no *legal* Power, to impriſon any Perſon, or commit them " to Cuſtody of Serjeants, or otherwiſe (their own Mem- " bers excepted) but ought to addreſs the King, to cauſe " any Perſon, on good Grounds, to be apprehended, which " Perſon, ſo apprehended, ought to have the Benefit of the

" *Habeas Corpus* Act, and be brought to Trial by due Courſe " of Law." After other Claims it concludes :—" Thus, " Gentlemen, you have your Duty laid before you, which " it is hoped you will think of: But if you continue to ne- " gleſt it, you may expect to be treated according to the " Reſentments of an injured Nation; *Engliſhmen* are no " more to be *Slaves* to *Parliaments*, than to *Kings*. Our " Name is LEGION, and we are MANY.

APPENDIX. Number II.

Extract from a Book, entitled Jura Populi Anglicani, *printed* 1701, *relating to the* Kentiſh *Petitioners.*

THE Impriſoning of thoſe Gentlemen, is the Fact which comes under my Conſideration. In order to handle this Subject fully, it will be neceſſary firſt to examine how far our Laws have ſecured the Liberty and Freedom of our Perſons, *&c.*

FIRST, As to the *Common Law*, we know what Favour ſhe ſhews to the Liberty of our Perſons. This was ſo great, that formerly ſhe ſuffered none to be impriſoned, but for Force, and Things done againſt the Peace. Force indeed ſhe (being the Guardian and Preſerver of the Land) could not but abhor; thoſe therefore that committed it, ſhe accounted her capital Enemies, and did ſubject their Bodies to Impriſonment. In all other Caſes ſhe protected them from this Reſtraint. This was our Conſtitution in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings, and a while after, till the thirty-fifth Year of *Henry* III. who was the eighth King from the Conqueſt: Becauſe Bailiffs would not render Accounts to their Lords, it was then enacted by the Statute of *Marlebridg*, Cap. 24. that their Bodies ſhould be attached. Had this Law been a little unreaſonable, it is no great Wonder that it ſhould paſs at that Time, conſidering the Weakneſs of the King, and the Power of the Lords, in whoſe Favour it was made. We may remark concerning it, that the firſt Act to reſtrain the Subjects Liberty, was procured by thoſe Lords who forced a Charter from the King to confirm their own Liberties. Three Reigns after this (23 *Edward* III. 17.) becauſe Men took no Care to pay their Debts, it was provided by another *Statute*, that their Bodies ſhould be attached. Before theſe Statutes, as I ſaid, no Man's Body

was

was ſubject to be taken or impriſoned otherwiſe than as aforeſaid. As the Moderation of our Anceſtors in not enacting any ſuch Laws, in all the Ages that went before, demonſtrates the great Regard they had for Liberty; ſo did the Courſe and Practice of the Law afterwards fully ſhew how great a Puniſhment they reckoned to have it reſtrained, as by thoſe Statutes. Before the Reign of King *James* I. it was allowed, that he who died in Priſon diſcharged the Debt, how great ſoever it was, for which he was committed. The Reaſon was, becauſe they thought Impriſonment a Puniſhment ſo great, that no other Satisfaction ought to be demanded after it. It was the Opinion they had of the Greatneſs of the Puniſhment, that made our merciful Forefathers bear with Men in uſing ſuch Acts of Force to enlarge themſelves, as are not now allowed. The Statute *de frangentibus Priſonam*, made in the firſt Year of *Edward* the Second, enacts that *no one ſhall undergo Judgment of Life or Members, for breaking of Priſon alone, unleſs the Cauſe for which the Perſon is impriſoned require ſuch a Judgment.* And the Mirror of Juſtices, which was writ before this King's Reign, where it reckons up the Abuſions of the Common Law *, tell us, *That it is an Abuſe to hold an Eſcape out of Priſon, or the Breach of the Goal, to be a mortal Offence,* FOR AS MUCH AS ONE IS WARRANTED TO DO IT BY THE LAW OF NATURE. All this cannot be wondered at, when we conſider how great an evil Impriſonment is reckoned, and that it is in Law called *Civil Death: Perdit Domum, Familiam, Vicinos, Patriam; he loſes his Houſe, his Family, his Wife, his Children, his Neighbours, his Country, and is condemned to live among wretched and wicked Men.* For this Reaſon it is that as a Man, if he be threatned to be killed, may avoid a Feeoffment †, Gift of Goods, &c. So it is, if he be threatned to be impriſoned, or kept in Dureſs; that being reckoned to be a civil Death, any Specialty or Obligation made by him is null in Law: And he may avoid the Action brought upon ſuch Specialty, by pleading that it was made by Dureſs.

As the *Common Law* has ſhewn a great Regard, ſo *ſecondly* has the STATUTE is evident from many Acts of Parliament. The firſt that I ſhall take Notice of, is the *Grand Charter* of the Liberties of *England*, firſt granted in the ſeventeenth Year of King *John*, and renewed twice in the Reign of King *Henry* the Third. By that Charter it is provided, that *no Freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, unleſs it be by*

* *Mir. of Juſtic. c.* 5. *Sect.* 1. † 39 H. I. 65, &c.

Judgment of his Peers, or by the Laws of the Land: that is, by *Jurors* who are his *Peers*; or by due *Proceſs of Law*. That this is the meaning of thoſe Words *per Legem Terræ*, or *Law of the Land*, will plainly appear from divers other Statutes which explain thoſe Words. In the 25 *Edw.* III. c. 4. we find them thus explained in theſe Words: *Whereas it is contained in the great Charter of the Franchiſes of* England, *that no Freeman be impriſoned, or put out of his Freehold, nor of his Franchiſe, nor free Cuſtom, unleſs it be by the* LAW OF THE LAND, *it is accorded, aſſented, and eſtabliſhed, that from henceforth none ſhall be taken by Petition or Suggeſtion made unto our Lord the King, or to his Council, unleſs it be by Indictment or Preſentment of his good and lawful People, of the ſame Neighbourhood where ſuch Deed was done, in due Manner, or* BY PROCESS MADE BY WRIT ORIGINAL AT THE COMMON LAW; *and that none be out of his Franchiſes or Freehold, unleſs he be duly brought in to anſwer, and forejudged of the ſame by* COURSE OF LAW, *and if any Thing be done againſt the ſame, it ſhall be redreſſed and held for null.* The 28th of *Edw.* III. is very direct to this Purpoſe: There it is enacted *That no Man, of what Eſtate or Condition he be, ſhall be put out of his Lands or Tenements, nor taken, nor impriſoned,* &c. *without he be brought in to anſwer by due* PROCESS OF LAW. 36 *Ed.* III. *Rot. Parl. Numb.* 9. Amongſt the Petitions of the Commons, one of them being tranſlated out of *French* into *Engliſh*, is thus; *Firſt, That the great Charter, and the Charter of the Foreſt, and the other Statutes made in his Time, and the Time of his Progenitors, for the Profit of him and his Commonwealth, be well and firmly kept and put in Execution, without putting Diſturbance, or making Arreſt, contrary to them, by ſpecial Command, or in any other.* The Anſwer to this Petition, which makes it an Act of Parliament, is, *Our Lord the King by the Aſſent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons and the Commonalty, hath ordained and eſtabliſhed, that the ſaid Charters and Statutes be held and put in Execution according to the ſaid Petition; which is, that no Arreſt ſhould be made contrary to the Statutes, by ſpecial Command.*

THIS explains the Matter fully, and is of as great Force as if they were Printed; for the *Parliament Roll* is the true Warrant of an Act, and many are omitted out of the Books that are extant.

36 *Ed.* 3. *Rot. Parl. Num.* 30. explains it further; for there the Petition is, *Whereas it is contained in the grand Charter, and other Statutes, that none be taken, or impriſoned by ſpecial Command, without Indictment, or other due Proceſs to be made*

made by Law; *yet oftentimes it hath been, and ſtill is, that many are hindered, taken and impriſoned without* Indictment, *or other* Proceſs *to be made* by the Law *upon them, as well of Things done out of the Foreſt of the King, as for other Things: That it would therefore pleaſe our ſaid Lord to command thoſe to be delivered who are taken by ſpecial Command, againſt the Form of the Charters and Statutes aforeſaid.* The Anſwer is, *The King is pleaſed if any Man find himſelf grieved, that he come and make his Complaint, and Right ſhall be done unto him,* 37 *Edw.* III. *c.* 18. agreeth in Subſtance, when it ſaith, *Though it be contained in the grand Charter, that no Man be impriſoned, nor put out of his Freehold without Proceſs; nevertheleſs divers People make falſe Suggeſtions to the King himſelf, as well for Malice as otherwiſe, whereat the King is often grieved, and divers in the Realm put in Damage, againſt the Form of the ſaid Charter: Wherefore it is ordered, that all they who make ſuch Suggeſtions, be ſent with the Suggeſtions before the Chancellor, Treaſurer and the grand Council, and that they there find Surety to purſue their Suggeſtions, and incur the ſame Pain that the other ſhould have had, (if he were attainted) in Caſe that their Suggeſtions be found evil, and that then Proceſs of the Law be made againſt them without being taken and impriſoned againſt the Form of the ſaid Charter and other Statutes.* Here the Law of the Land in the *great Charter* is explained to be *Proceſs of the Law.*

FROM what I have here delivered, it appears what Care both the *Common* and *Statute Law* have taken of the *Liberty* of our *Perſons*; that the former abhorred Impriſonment, and never allowed it, unleſs it was when Men had been guilty of *Force*, and rendered themſelves Enemies to the Community; and that the Latter has frequently enjoined that it ſhall not be inflicted, unleſs it be by *Indictment*, or ſuch *due Proceſs* as the Law requires. What we have here ſaid will aſſiſt us in,

THE ſecond Thing propoſed, which was to enquire, whether the Power exerciſed by the *Houſe* of *Commons* be not an Invaſion of our legal Rights, and tends not to ſubvert, even our Conſtitution, *&c.* See more concerning the Caſe of theſe *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, pag. 19.

APPENDIX, Number III.

The CASE *of the Men of* Aylesbury.

THERE had been great Complaints long made, and these had increased within a few Years, of great *Partiality* and *Injustice* in the Election of Parliament-Men, both by *Sheriffs*, and by the Returning-Officers in *Boroughs*. In *Aylesbury* in *Buckinghamshire*, the Return was made by *four* Constables; and it was believed, that they had made a Bargain with some of the *Candidates*, and then managed the Matter so, as to be sure that the *Majority* should be for the Person, to whom they had engaged themselves.—And when these Matters came to be examined by the House of Commons, they gave the Election always for *him*, who was reckoned of the *Party* of the *Majority*, in a Manner as *bare-faced* that they were scarce out of Countenance, when they were charged for Injustice in judging of Elections. It was not easy to find a Remedy against such a crying Abuse, of which all Sides in their Turns, as they happened to be depressed had made great Complaints, but when they came to be the Majority seemed to forget all.—At last the Action was brought against *William White*, and the other Constables of *Aylesbury* by one *Matthew Ashby*, who had been always admitted to vote, but was denied it in the last Election.—This Action was tried at the *Assizes*, the *Jury* found that the Constables had denied him a Right of which he was undoubtedly in Possession, so that they were cast with Damages. But it was moved in the *Queen's Bench* to quash all the Proceedings in that Matter. The Judges *Powel*, *Gould*, and *Powis* were of Opinion, that no Hurt was done to *Ashby*. Chief Justice *Holt* alone differed from the Rest. He made a great Difference in an *Election* of a Member, and a *Right to vote* in it. That the House of Commons were the only Judges of the former, whether it was rightly managed without Bribery, Fraud, or Violence: But the *Right of Voting* in an Election, was an original Right founded either on a *Freehold* of forty Shillings the Year, *&c.* on Burgage-Land, or Prescription, or by Charter, *&c.* these were all *legal* Titles, and as such triable in a Court of Law. He spoke long and learnedly and with some Vehemence upon the Subject: But he was one against three, and so the Order of the *Queen's Bench* was given for the Constables. However this *Distinction* of his Lordship's was a very *just* one, and of the last Importance.

For

For if the *Majority* of the Houſe of Commons were to be in this particular Judges of private Right, it would put it into their Hands, at any Time, to fill a Number of Seats in the Houſe, and ſo by Degrees entirely to extinguiſh the Power of Election in the People. They knew the Advantage of ſuch a Power, and therefore contended hard for it in their Reſolution. But the Matter being now by a Writ of Error brought before the Houſe of *Lords*, their Lordſhips on this Occaſion ſtood as a Bulwark for the Conſtitution and reſolved (3) That the declaring of *Matthew Aſhby*, &c. is in effect to ſubject the Laws of *England* to the *Votes* of the Houſe of Commons, *&c.*

The Lords likewiſe ordered the Lord Keeper to ſend a *Copy* of the *Caſe* and their *Reſolutions* to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to be communicated to all the *Boroughs* in their *Counties*. The *Commons* were highly provoked with this, but they had during this Seſſion loſt much of their Reputation, not only with fair and impartial Judges, but even with thoſe, who were moſt inclined to favour them. The Judgment of the Lords in the Caſe of *Aſhby* being executed, five other of the Men of *Ayleſbury* brought their Action againſt the Conſtables for refuſing their Votes: Upon which the Houſe of Commons committed them to *Newgate*, where they lay three Months: When being apprehenſive that the Queen would grant Writs of Error whereby they might be diſcharged, they alſo ordered them to be removed from *Newgate*, and taken into Cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms, which Order was executed at Midnight, with ſuch Circumſtances of Terror, as have been ſeldom exerciſed againſt the greateſt Offenders. The Reſolutions of the Lords upon this, deſerve to be the *Baſis* of a Law to prevent ſuch Exceſſes in the *Commons* for the future, they are too long to be inſerted here: But their laſt Repreſentation before the *Queen* muſt not be totally omitted, which was, "That the Proceedings of the Houſe "of Commons againſt the *Ayleſbury* Men were wholly "new and unprecedented. That it is the Birth-right of every "*Engliſhman*, who apprehends himſelf to be injured, to ſeek "for Redreſs in her Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice. That if "there be any Power that can controul this Right, and can "preſcribe when he ſhall, and when he ſhall not be allowed "the Benefit of the Laws, he ceaſes to be a *Freeman*, and "his Liberty and Property are precarious. That the *Crown* "lays Claim to no ſuch Power and their *Lordſhips* were "ſure, the Law has truſted no ſuch Authority with any "Subjects whatſoever."

To

To prevent, therefore, future Inconveniences of this Sort, my good Countrymen, we may reaſonably hope that thoſe who *pretend* to claim ſuch Authority, will by a written LAW for ever *reſign* it. This is a Thing you ſhould not ſleep over.

APPENDIX, Number IV.

Extracts from the Speech of Lord Chief Juſtice Holt.

I Am ſenſible, ſaid he, of the great Diſadvantage I lie under, becauſe *eleven* of the Judges are againſt my Opinion. The Caſe being of Moment and Concern I did *not confer* with them, before I delivered my Thoughts. And it is a ſecond Diſadvantage, that I have ſo great an Eſteem for their Sentiments, that I would willingly reſign my Opinion to theirs. But then I lie under another, which is to encounter an Opinion and Judgment of the Houſe of Lords. I muſt confeſs the Commons of *England* are entruſted with, and are very zealous for our Liberties, and therefore I would think it a Misfortune, to lie under their Diſpleaſure. Yet there is another Thing, that lies upon me, which at all Events I am to take Care of, and that is a good Conſcience. I am upon my Oath to judge impartially and juſtly. I do not think this ſuch an Impriſonment, that the *Freemen* and Subjects of *England* are to be bound by; and it will affect all the Kingdom, if by any Declaration, or Prohibition made by the Houſe of Commons, they are reſtrained from bringing a lawful Action. Neither of the Houſes of Parliament, ſeparately or jointly, have anyPower to diſpoſe of the Liberty or Property of the Subject. It muſt be with the *Queen* added to them, this is the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. It is ſaid in Return that the Priſoners are guilty of a *Breach of Privilege* for bringing an Action. I muſt therefore declare my Opinion, that commencing a Suit is no Breach of Privilege, though it be againſt a Member himſelf, ſo he be not affected in his Perſon or Lands. The ſecond Crime mentioned in the Commitment and Return is Proſecuting. What is meant thereby ſeems not to be clear, becauſe *Proſecuting* may be taken ſeveral Ways, as entering of a *Continuance*, which cannot be ſaid to be any Breach of Privilege, the Perſon of the Member, or his Eſtate not being diſturbed thereby.——Again, the Houſe of Commons ſhould have ſhewn that they have a Privilege; for, if the High Conſtable

of

of *England* ſhould not ſhew his Authority, we ſhould not take more Notice of him than of the Conſtable of * St. *Martin's*. The Law of the Land muſt take Place.——If an Action is ſued and proſecuted againſt a Peer, no Action *de Scandalis Magnatum*, will lie, if there was any probable Cauſe of Action. I do not think that ever Privilege did extend ſo far, as to exclude, or debar any Man from bringing any Action, eſpecially where there is juſt Cauſe. This Caſe has undergone a great and high Judgment above, upon the Queen's Writ of Errors.——Another Part of the Return ſays, *that the Proſecution was contrary to the Declaration and in Breach*, &c. I do not well know, what is meant by a *Proſecution contrary to a Declaration*: But ſuppoſe there was a Declaration, I much queſtion if that Declaration will make a *Breach of Privilege*, which was not ſo before. There is no Precedent for it.——Privilege is not unlimited, but eſtabliſhed by the Rules of Law. If a Member break the Peace he muſt find Sureties, &c.——If the Declaration does claim a Privilege, and ſays it is ſo yet if it was not ſo before; the People of *England* are not eſtopped, to ſay it is ſo. So neither the one Houſe nor the other can enlarge their Privileges. They concern the Liberties of the People in an high Degree, and nothing but an Act of Parliament can make a Man's Perſon ſubject to Impriſonment, but where originally he was ſo ſubject, &c. &c.

* *Certainly his Lordſhip could not mean Mr.* Carne.

The Danger *attending an* enlightened *and* free *People, from a* national *Intercourſe with thoſe, who live under an* idolatrous *Religion, and* deſpotick *Government.*

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

ALDGATE CHURCH,

in *LONDON:*

ON

FRIDAY, the 27th of *April*, 1753,

Before the Honourable

EDWARD VERNON, Eſq;

GRAND PRESIDENT.

And the ſeveral

Laudable *Aſſociations* of ANTI GALLICANS.

——— *Utcunque ferant ea facta* minores,
Vincet Amor Patriæ.——— VIRGIL.

O ſave my Country, Heav'n,—*will be the* laſt.
Ethick Epiſt. POPE.

The SECOND EDITION.

JEREMIAH ii. 18.

And now what haſt THOU *to do in the Way of* Egypt, *to drink the Waters of* Sihor ?—

THESE Words of *Jeremy* are addreſſed, in Indignation, to the People of *Iſrael*, on account of their unnatural and *rebellious* Fondneſs for the Land of *Egypt*.

IT may juſtly be called *rebellious*; becauſe it aroſe rather from a Diſpoſition to affront that GOD, who by a *mighty Hand* and a *ſtretched-out Arm* had delivered them from that Country, than from any *real* Intereſt, they could poſſibly propoſe to themſelves by a Connection with it.

FOR this very *Land*, ſo much deteſted and abhorred by the Prophet, had done them the moſt ſenſible Injury: It had given them an incurable Turn to *Slavery* and *Superſtition*. They could even remember, with a Sort of Pleaſure, that they had ſat in *Bondage*, watching over the *Fleſh-pots* of *Egypt*, and though inſtructed in the Knowledge of the true GOD, by the moſt glorious *Revelation*, that ever People had *then* ſeen,

ſeen, their Poſterity could be ſenſeleſs enough to ſuffer their Women to follow the *idolatrous* Revels of that Country, and the Service of the *Queen* of Heaven, *Jer.* xliv.

FOR theſe their *obſtinate* Sins, and *popular* Follies, they are conſtantly reproved by the Prophets. *Ephraim* (ſays *Hoſea*, vii. 11.) is like a *ſilly Dove* they call to *Egypt*. And with regard to this particular Reproach of the Prophet *Jeremy*, though it may not perhaps, at this Diſtance of Time, to People like us, of a *different* Language, be quite ſo *lively* and *intelligible* as when he firſt delivered it, yet there are Circumſtances in it, apparent enough, to enable us to diſcover his Meaning.

What haſt Thou to do in the Way *of* Egypt, may not ſimply imply *in the Road* thither, but what is worſe, with the **Cuſtoms* and *Manners* of that Country: And for the Expreſſion of *drinking the Waters*, if it be *figurative*, it generally has Reference either to *Idolatry* or *Slavery*.

THUS *Iſaiah* (lvii. 6.) ſaith. *Among the ſmooth Stones of the Stream is thy Portion, even to them haſt thou poured a Drink-Offering*. At the *Waters* too, was performed

* This Interpretation is likewiſe more agreeable to the *Original*; for דרך ſignifies a *Manner* as well as a *Way*, more eſpecially as it is written לדרך מצרים and not בדרך.

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the Lamentation for *Tamuz*,* another *Species* of *Idolatry*, to which the *Iſraelites* were addicted, as we read in the Prophet *Ezekiel*.

From theſe Inſtances it appears, that to be *converſant* at the Waters,† or to *abide* by them, for that is often meant by *drinking* the Waters, expreſſes *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*, and the *Bondage of the Mind*, as in other Caſes it repreſents a *ſlaviſh Subjection* of the *Body*.

Thus the ancient *Hero*, who oppoſed the *Greeks*, foreſeeing after his Death the miſerable State of his Wife and Son, tells her, among other afflicting Circumſtances, that ſhe might poſſibly be reduced ſo low, as to carry Waters to *Argos*‡ from the Springs

* When the People of *Byblus* ſolemnized the Death of *Tamuz* or *Adonis*, the People of *Alexandria* ſent them a Letter incloſed in an Ark of Bulruſhes, which, being committed to the Sea, was carried by the Stream to *Byblus*; it was to tell them, that *Adonis*, whom they lamented, was found again; upon which the Lamentation of the Women was turned into Joy. The People of *Byblus* lamented *Tamuz* on the Banks of the River *Adonis*, which at certain Times runs of a bloody Colour to the Sea. *Maundrel*, p. 33.

† *Qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt*——&c. &c.

‡ To bear the Victor's hard Commands, and bring
The Weight of Waters from *Hyperia*'s Spring;
There, while you groan beneath the Load of Life,
They cry, Behold the mighty *Hector*'s Wife!
Some haughty *Greek*, who lives thy Tears to ſee,
Embitters all thy Woes by naming me.
Thy Thoughts of Glory paſt, and preſent Shame,
A thouſand Griefs ſhall waken at thy Name.

May

Springs of *Hyperia*; and that this was a Mark of Subjection among the *Hebrews*, is plain from the Caſe of the *Gibeonites*, who were condemned, as an *abject* People, to be Hewers of Wood, and *Drawers of Water*.

BUT ſuppoſing this *Hebrew* Expreſſion were not *figurative*; why even then, to travel in the Road to *Egypt*, and drink the Waters of *Sihor*, whether by them we underſtood thoſe of the *Nile*, or of any other River, implies ſome *Reſidence* in the Land; perhaps to carry on ſome *Traffick*, or at leaſt to gratify ſome *Curioſity*. But then it may be ſaid, what Concern could *Jeremiah*, in the Character of a *Prophet*, have with Affairs of this Nature? How did it belong to his *Province* to call the *People* to an *Account* where they *traded*, or laid the Scene for their *Expences* and *Diverſions*, or even for a *national Revolt*, if they had a Mind to form ſuch *Combinations*?

I reply, he had great *Concern* in theſe Things, if we conſider him only in a *ſacred* Character. For the *Commerce* of *Strangers* has often a very powerful Effect upon the *Morals*

May I lay cold before that dreadful Day,
Preſs'd with a Load of monumental Clay:
Thy *Hector*, wrapt in everlaſting Sleep
Shall neither hear thee ſigh, nor ſee thee weep.
Homer's Iliad, Book vi.

This affecting Image of Diſtreſs, if a Perſon has no other Relation to tremble for, he may apply to his native Country, which comprehends, as *Tully* ſays, *Charitates omnes*, all our Tenderneſſes.

See alſo *Ezekiel* i. 1. and *Pſalm.* cxxxvii. 1.

Morals and *Religion* of a Country: Not that there are wanting other *Reaſons*, for which the *Prophet* might not only be juſtified, but commended for this his *authoritative* Cenſure, as by his ſuperior Underſtanding, and great Integrity, he might have a proper *Idea* of, and great *Concern* for, the *declining* Intereſt of his *native* Country. To give Satisfaction therefore upon this Head I ſhall enquire,

In the *firſt* Place, how it came to paſs, among the *Jews*, that Perſons in the *ſacred* Office of a *Prophet*, were ſo continually employed, and ſo honourably eſteemed as *Politicians*.

2*dly*, I ſhall examine, why it was that the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and the *Jewiſh* Attachments to it, were ſo often, and ſo particularly obnoxious to their Cenſure, and what there was in the *Caſe* of theſe Nations *parallel* to that of *France* and *England*.

3*dly* and laſtly, I ſhall endeavour to obviate the Danger on our Side, ariſing from this *Similitude* of Circumſtances, by diſcovering in what Parts we are moſt affected, and propoſing the *Methods* of *Prevention*.

But firſt I ſhall enquire how it came to paſs, among the *Jews*, that Perſons in the *ſacred* Office of a *Prophet*, were ſo continu-

ally employed, and ſo honourably eſtemed as *Politicians*.

Now one principal Reaſon for this was, that conſidering the Times in which they lived, and the Circumſtances of the *Jewiſh* People, the Prophets were likely to be the ableſt Stateſmen.

WHAT there was of *Literature* in thoſe primitive Ages was chiefly confined to them; in Conſequence of this, they had the Education of the *nobler* Youth, and preſided in thoſe publick *Seminaries* of the Nation, which either from *their* Authority, as the *Rulers*, or the Conformity of their Diſciples to their *Manners*, were called after their own Name, the †*Schools* of the *Prophets*. The Deference which was paid them, gave them that Degree of Preeminence, which enabled them not only to diſcern the fartheſt, but alſo to conduct in critical Circumſtances the moſt important Matters both in *Church* and *State*.

THE Buſineſs of *Educating* the great Men of the Nation afforded them an Opportunity of knowing *perſonally* their ſeveral Abilities; as their *ſacred* Office gave them often

† The Places where they taught were called *Gebaoth* Hills. So the Hill of *Phineas*, Joſh. xxiv. becauſe the College ſtood upon a Hill. So *Judges* vii. *Collis Moreh*, i. e. of the Teacher. 1 *Sam.* xv. *Collis Dei*, God's Hill. 2 *Sam.* xvii. 18. *Naioth*, Pleaſant Places; the *Targum* expounds it, the *Houſe of Doctrine*. So 2 *Kings*, xxii. 14. We read in the *Hebrew* of a Place in *Jeruſalem* called *Miſneh*, in *Engliſh*, the *College*.

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a *Right* of calling them forth to *Action*, and nominating them to the higheſt political Employments; all which was very viſible in the Life of *Samuel*. Had it not been for him, the *two firſt* Monarchs of the *Iſraelitiſh* Race might have paſſed all their Days in Obſcurity, and remained like the *rude* and *ignorant* Youth of *other* Nations, the one in a very humble *rural* ‡‡ Capacity; and the other no better than the *Hero* ‡ of the *Wilderneſs*, or ſuch as he deſcribed himſelf to *Saul*, the *Terror* and *Diſturber* of *Bears* and *Lions*. Such once was *David*; though his Proweſs afterwards, and his conſummate Skill in the Arts of Government proved a great *Panegyrick* upon the Perſon, who was the Inſtrument of advancing him to a Throne, and would ſufficiently have demonſtrated the Abilities of *Samuel*, even though there had remained no other Monuments of his *political* Capacity. From this Account therefore, of their Learning and Pre-eminence; Influence with the People in *general*, as well as Acceſs to the *greateſt* Perſons, and moſt *important* Matters; we muſt conclude, that the *Prophets* among the *Jews*

‡‡ 1 *Sam.* ix. 3—19, *&c.* בית הראה or *Seer's Houſe* (moſt likely the *College* at a Diſtance from the City) which is here likewiſe called by a Name expreſſing an *Hill* or *Eminence*, הבמה.

‡ 1 *Sam.* xvii. 36.

had generally all the Opportunities of being Men of ſingular *Penetration*.

As ſuch then, they were likely to be beſt acquainted with the *real* State of the Nation; and on that Account were convinced of approaching Danger, though others might ſay * *Peace, Peace, when there was no Peace.* An ignorant and Time-ſerving Generation are eaſily deluded by falſe Gloſſes, and plauſible Rumours. But the *true* Prophets among the *Jews* were Men of better Diſcernment than to be thus impoſed upon. They ſaw with unerring Sagacity the Cauſes and Conſequences of Things, and were very clear and firm in their Predictions, that ill-concerted Alliances, and perverſe Meaſures, would be productive of fatal Events. It is remarkable indeed in the *Hiſtory* of the Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, that the falſe *Prophets*, and the People about the Court, were generally of the ſame Opinion, and often in Combinations to oppoſe the Counſels of the *true*; as we ſee in the Caſe of † *Micaiah* and ‡ *Jeremiah*, who, notwithſtanding this, could never be wrought upon by any *Hardſhip*, or *Perſecution*, to renounce their Duty to *God*, and their *King*, by departing from their proper Teſtimony.

WHICH opens to us another *amiable* View of their Character, and induces us to be-

* Jer. vi. 14. † 1 Kings, xxii. 24. ‡ Jer. xxxvi. 23.

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lieve, that they were Men of great *Integrity*, of which upon other Occaſions they gave us many ſignal Inſtances.

WHAT more *noble* than the Challenge of SAMUEL? *Behold here I am; witneſs againſt me before the Lord, and before his Anointed, whoſe Ox or whoſe Aſs have I taken, or whom have I defrauded, whom have I oppreſſed, or of whoſe Hand have I received any Bribe to blind my Eyes therewith, and I will reſtore it,* 1 Sam. xii. 3.

AGAIN, what more *honeſt* and *publick-ſpirited*, than the Zeal of ELISHA, and his ſevere and heavy Cenſure of his Servant GEHAZI? *Went not mine Heart with thee, when the Man turned again from his Chariot to meet thee? Is it a Time to receive Money, and to receive Garments, and Olive-yards and Vine-yards, and Sheep and Oxen, and Men Servants and Maid Servants? The Leproſy therefore of* Naaman *ſhall cleave unto thee, and unto thy Seed for ever; and he went out of his Preſence a Leper as white as Snow.* 2 Kings v. 26, 27.

AND this inflexible Conduct of the Prophets upon the *common* Occurrences, as well as in the more *critical* Circumſtances of the *State*, proceeded not from any *Sowerneſs* in their Temper, or a Spirit of *Singularity* and *Contradiction*; but from a *Love* and *Concern* for their native *Country*, whoſe Fortune they ſhared and followed:

And, after the moſt tender and pathetick *Lamentations* over its Calamities, died moſt of them in *Captivity*, by *violent* Deaths, attached to *the laſt* to its Intereſt, praying, hoping, or predicting its Deliverance.

Now then, beſide the *ſacred Office* of the Prophets, which gave them a *Right* to inſpect into, and reform the Manners of the People, conſidering their *Learning*, and Pre-eminence, their *Skill* and Penetration in State Matters; their great *Integrity* in publick and private Life, and laſtly, their inviolable *Attachment* to the Intereſt of their *Country*; we may with Reaſon deem them *Patriots* (ſince there are few Patriots now-a-days ſo well qualified) which is an Anſwer to the firſt Enquiry——How it came to paſs among the *Jews*, that Perſons in the *ſacred* Office of a *Prophet* were ſo continually employed, and honourably eſteemed as *Politicians*.

I COME therefore, 2*dly*, to examine why it was that the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and the *Jewiſh* Attachments to it, were ſo often and ſo particularly obnoxious to their Cenſure, and what there was, in the Caſe of theſe Nations, *parallel* to that of *France* and *England*.

Now the Miſchiefs which the Prophets complained of as happening to *Iſrael*, through their Intercourſe with *Egypt*, were firſt

firſt of a *religious* Sort, which drew after them thoſe, that were *political*.

For the Religion of *Egypt* being groſs *Idolary*, with which the *Jews* had been not a little tinctured during the *Patriarchal* Reſidence in that Country, any freſh Intercourſe with the ſame People was apt to revive their old Attachments, and put them into extream Danger of relapſing entirely into the ſame Superſtition.

This *hankering* after the *Religion* produced other bad Effects; it diſpoſed them to *Alliances* with, and Dependence upon that Country, which however, of *later* Years, as the *Aſſyrian* Captain obſerved, had rendered them only the Service of a "broken Reed, on the which if a Man "lean, it ſhall go into his Hand and pierce "it;" as in former Times it had imprinted upon them *indelible* Marks of *Diſgrace* and *Miſery*, for that it had been abſolutely no better than their *Houſe* of Bondage.

The retaining of a Friendſhip and Admiration for ſuch neighbouring Kingdoms entirely extinguiſhed in them all Senſe of their own Freedom and Independence, at the ſame Time that it produced ſuch an hardened, ignorant Contempt of their *own* Land, which their Fathers had purchaſed with ſo much Difficulty, that they could ſcarce be prevailed upon to breathe its *Air*, or enjoy their *Poſſeſſions* in it, though in

the Eſtimation of GOD and Man, it were reputed a Land *flowing with Milk and Honey*.

ALL this provoking Conduct, this lamentable and abandoned State of the Nation, is ſtrongly and pathetically repreſented by the Prophets.

" PASS we unto *Calneh* and ſee (ſays " *Amos*, ch. vi. 2.) and from thence ye go " down to *Hemath* the great, then ye go " down to *Gath* of the *Philiſtines*, be they " better than theſe *Kingdoms*, or their Bor- " der greater than your *Border*?"

BUT all theſe favourable Circumſtances *at Home*, and all the abject Slavery, they had ſuffered from *Abroad*, could not make them in Love with their own Country, or wean them from their Fondneſs for *Egypt*. For though, as *Amos* ſays, the Lord *had* brought them up from thence, yet they continued to be unto him as the *Children* of the *Ethiopians*.

THIS *idolatrous* and *ſervile* Diſpoſition is deſcribed ſtill more at large by *Jeremiah* (in the 44th Chapter) where he ſeverely reprimands the Women, whom he knew to have burnt Incenſe to other Gods, and who with all Contempt of Authority return him this petulant Anſwer: *As for the Word of the Lord, which thou haſt ſpoken unto us in the Name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto Thee, but we will certainly do whatſoever Thing*

Thing goeth forth of our own Mouths; to burn Incenſe unto the QUEEN *of* HEAVEN, and to pour *out Drink-Offerings unto her, as we have done, we, and our* Fathers, *our* Kings, *and our* Princes *in the Land of* Judah, *and in the Streets of* Jeruſalem. *For then we had Plenty of Victuals, and were well, and ſaw no Evil. But ſince we have left off to burn Incenſe* to the Queen of Heaven, *&c. we have wanted all Things, and been conſumed by the* Sword, *and by the* Famine. And to ſhew the Prophet farther, the Extent of their Power and *Influence*, and the Countenance they are able to give to any Cauſe, they add——*Did we make Cakes to worſhip her, or pour out Drink-Offerings without our* Men?

CAN we of theſe *Nations* read this Paſſage, and not diſcern at once a *glaring* and *affecting* Similitude? Is not this the very Picture of the Inſolence and Folly of our *faſhionable* Women, fixing their Reſidence on the *oppoſite* Shore? attended too by their *deluded* Huſbands, and perhaps their yet *unthinking* and *unfeeling* Infants.

BUT * *Britons* beware, and of all *Britons Engliſhmen* the moſt. For, what *Egypt* was

* The *Britons* or *Welſh*, who joined the *Engliſh* againſt the Duke of *Normandy*, were moſt cruelly treated by him, "for of ſome he put out the Eyes, of others he cut off the "Hands, hanged ſome upon Gibbets, and he who eſcaped "beſt went into Baniſhment." *Speed*, p. 430.

to

to *Iſrael*, is *France* to *England*. It has been to you an *Houſe* of *Bondage*. It has ſeparated many from their *native* Land, ſome through *Reſentment*, ſome through *Seduction*; and if not properly oppoſed, muſt ſome Time be the Cauſe of our *national* Ruin.

I SHALL make good the *Charge* contained in theſe Articles, and then, by Way of *Concluſion*, propoſe the Methods of Prevention.

FIRST then, the Religion of *France*, notwithſtanding the *covered* Attempts of ſome of their †wiſe Men to reform it, is ſtill, and likely ever to continue an idolatrous Religion. They have their Mother of GOD, or *Queen of Heaven*; they have her *Cakes*, which bear her Impreſs. The Limits and Deſign of this Diſcourſe will not permit me to be very particular in expoſing the Abſurdities of *Popery*, which has been ſo well done by ſo much ‡abler Hands, and is the Duty in ordinary of every *Proteſtant* Divine; and therefore I am at preſent the more at Liberty, as I defend the *Antigallican* Cauſe *in general*, to ſelect ſuch *Topicks* as have been, moſt unhappily for this Nation, ſlept over, and neglected.

† The PARLIAMENT at *Paris*.

‡ See the Right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of *Exeter*'s Book of the Enthuſiaſm of the *Papiſts* and *Methodiſts* compared.

" AWAKE therefore thou that ſleepeſt," (and as the *Iſraelites* were inſtructed of old, for thy Condition is too much the ſame) " bind theſe Inſtructions as Front-" lets between thine Eyes, teach them " diligently to thy Children, talk of them " when thou ſitteſt in thine Houſe, when " thou walkeſt by the Way, when thou " lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up:" *Deut.*—— that Poſterity may never forget, how this once warlike, free, and noble Nation were by the Artifices of a People from *France*, and by *French* Politicks prevailing *at Home*, reduced for a Time to a State of *Ægytian* Slavery.

I MEAN, that heavy and diſgraceful *Æra* of the pretended *Norman* Conqueſt, when through many a *Shire* of this ample Realm (for *ſome* indeed were better ſpirited than to ſubmit to the general Ignominy of their Country) the ancient * *Thanes*, and *Ethelings*, the gentle Poſſeſſors of Lands and Diſtricts, though juſt returned from the unavailing Defence of a People *divided* and *unſettled*, and ſitting down to Refreſhment amidſt the ſurrounded Troops of their *Tenants* and FELLOW-SOLDIERS, were bid to riſe, and leave their *Patrimony* to ſome

* This *Engliſh* Title of Honour remained amongſt the *Old Engliſh* in *Scotland* after it was loſt in *England*. *Buchanan* mentions it as ſubſiſting in his Time: *Paucis in Locis vetus* Thani *Nomen adhuc manet*. Buchanan, lib. vii. p. 220.

Free-

Free-booter of the *Norman*'s † borrowed Army.

THESE *Engliſh* indeed were *Exiles*, but noble and at *large*, whilſt the *common People*, loſing their *old* Maſters, and with them the *Saxon* Laws and Liberties, underwent a much more ignominious Fate. *French* Shackles, or *French* Injunctions, as intolerable as thoſe *Shackles*, were for them provided; and leſt the very *Infants* ſhould ſuck in *Engliſh* Liberty with the Mother's Milk, they were torn from the Breaſt, or Embrace of the Parent, to be driven to *the School of Slavery*, to learn a *ſtrange* Language in their *own* Land. Their Progenitors ſaw with Grief and Shame the Fate of theſe little *Hoſtages*, though unable to recall them, ſince they were no better than Slaves themſelves in their own Houſes, obliged

† The *Normans* were too inconſiderable a Number ever to have effected a Conqueſt. The Body of *William*'s Army were the Subjects of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, and the *Emperor*, and of his principal Men the *Normans* made but few. Among thoſe in *Doomſday* Book, there is ſcarce a Name that is properly called *French*, And ſuppoſing the Catalogue at *Battail-Abbey* to be true, which however (ſays *Camden*) whoſoever conſidereth will find always to be forged, and thoſe Names to be inſerted, which the Time in every Age favoured, and which were never mentioned in that notable Record; yet, I ſay, ſuppoſing it to be true, it contained in the Time of *Verſtegan* the Names of no more than three or four hundred Gentlemen, of which, by Obſervation on their Surnames, he concludes ſcarce a Quarter of them to be remaining in his Time.

like

like *Criminals*, at the Sound of a ‡ *Bell*, to retire to their *Cell*, or *Priſon*.

If any one ſhould aſk how theſe Things were effected, though manifeſtly brought about by *French Intrigues* and *Policy*, we are told by People in that *Intereſt*, that it was by *Conqueſt*. Conqueſt! my *Countrymen*. What! the Fate of this Kingdom determined only by one * *hazardous* long-diſputed

‡ The *Coverfew*, commonly called the *Eight of Clock* Bell.

* *Edward* IV. who contended only with the Party of *Lancaſter*, had to wade through the Bloodſhed of nine pitched Battles, before he could reach the Crown: And it is probable, that the Army under the *French Norman* muſt have been cut to pieces or ſurrendered, had the *Engliſh* King ſurvived the Battle of *Haſtings*, and lived to have kept his People firm in the Intereſt of their Country. It was *Harold* II, who oppoſed the *Normans*, the thirty-eighth Monarch of *Engliſh-men*, and Son of Earl *Goodwin*; a Perſon of excellent Parts, and approved Valour, ſays our Hiſtorians. He had juſt defeated, totally, in the North of *England*, a great Army from *Norway*, and ſlain both their King and his Brother, who, according to *Crantzius*, were in a Plot with the Duke of *Normandy*, to favour his Deſcent. *Engliſh* HAROLD thinking, after this great Victory, that all Danger was over from Foreigners, had begun to diſband his Army, when, hearing that the *Normans* were arrived in the *South*, he haſted all *weary* and *bloody*, ſaith the Hiſtorian *(for that it ſeemeth to have been but ſeven Days after the aforeſaid Battle)* to encounter Duke *William* and the *Normans* from *France*, when meeting them near *Haſtings*, in *Suſſex*, his weary Troops were, after long Fighting, by a Stratagem, put into Diſorder, and himſelf ſhot by an Arrow in the Eye. In this Battle, as in the antient *Engliſh* Wars, the Men of *Kent* had the Honour of being in the *Van*, on account of their being the firſt *Engliſh* Kingdom. The *Middleſex* Men and the *Londoners* were in the ſame Squadron, and were

puted Battle? The Inhabitants of a Spot of Ground in this Neighbourhood never called it a *Conqueſt*. A † ſingle *County* of *England* withſtood this *pretended* Conqueror, regained their ancient *Saxon* Laws and Cuſtoms, and retain them to the preſent Age. The *Engliſh* of the ‡ *North* either oppoſed, or

were led on by King *Harold* and his *Brother*, who would have diſſuaded him from an immediate Engagement, becauſe (by reaſon of the Diſtance from *York* to *Haſtings*) the Remainder of his Forces could not yet arrive. This is clearly related by the *Saxon* Chronicle. "And tha "hwhile com Willm Eorl up at Haſtingan on S. Micha- "eles Maeſſe Daeg, and Harold com nordan, & him "with yfeaht; ear than the his Here come eall, & thaer "he feol, & his twaeyen ybrodra, Gyrt & Leofwine."—It is not therefore likely that 60000 *Engliſh* were ſlain, even though every Man in the Field had preſented his Body to the *Norman* Bows.—I have given the Reader this Paſſage, as a Curioſity, in the very Language of our Anceſtors, only laying aſide ſome of the *Saxon* Letters, which at preſent are not in Uſe.

† The Men of *Kent* under Archbiſhop *Stigand*. See a Poem of the Author's, entitled *Stigand, or the Antigallican*.

‡ *Marcar* and *Edwin*, the ſtout Earls of *Cheſter* and *Yorkſhire*, *Weltherſus* and *Merther*, ſome of the *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, and indeed the Body of the *Engliſh* Nation, being enraged at the Capitulations in the South, and the *Norman's* Reception at Court, moved Northward, and ſettled in great Numbers among their Countrymen in the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, which, being Part of the old *Engliſh* Kingdom of *Northumberland*, had been much inhabited by the *Engliſh*, from the Time of the Expedition, which *Octha* and *Ablyſa*, under the Direction of *Hengiſt*, had carried on againſt the *Picts*. (Concerning this, ſee the Author's Eſſay on the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the Diſſertation on the PICTS.) *Malcolm Kenmaur*, King of *Scotland*, gave the *Engliſh* the kindeſt Reception: According to *Buchanan*, he aſſigned

or deſpiſed him, and out of Indignation to the new Maſter, as well as Contempt of what was once their *Country*, went off in

aſſigned them Lands, and, with a View of making this Kingdom for ever one, he eſpouſed the Siſter of *Edgar Etheling*; who, if he had been poſſeſſed of *Harold*'s martial Spirit, ſhould, and might have been the *Engliſh* King.

From *Malcolm Kenmaur* his preſent MAJESTY derives his *firſt* and *principal* Relation to the united Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, independent of the Marriage of his Anceſtors with the exiled Family.

The more ancient Pedigree runs thus: *Matilda*, or *Maud the Good*, was the eldeſt Daughter of *Margaret* of *England*, Queen of *Scots*, and her Huſband, *Malcolm Kenmaur*, King of *Scotland*. In their Children centered all the Rights of the *Saxon* Kings of *England*. From *Maud the Good*, came *Maud the Empreſs*, who was married to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, by whom ſhe had *Henry* II. King of *England*, whoſe eldeſt Daughter, another *Maud*, was married to *Henry the Lion*, the famous Duke of *Saxony*, whoſe Son, *William of Wincheſter*, was Progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*, and bare for his Arms the Coat of *England* with the *two* Lions, as King *Henry* his Grandfather bare. This Princeſs died in the firſt Year of the Reign of her Brother King *Richard* I. and was buried by her Huſband the Duke of *Saxony*, in the Church of *St. Blaſe*, at *Brunſwick*, in the Year 1199, that is, 171 Years before the *Engliſh* Family of the *Stewards* had Alliance with the Crown of *Scotland* by *Robert* II. whoſe *Baſtard* Son *John* was, by the Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*, met at *Scone*, made his Succeſſor, to the Diſadvantage of his legitimate Children, by Stile and Title of *Robert* III. Thus begins the Right of the *Steward Family*, ſo called from the bearing the Office of *Steward* to the King of *Scotland*. So that one Family roſe only from the Servants of the Kings of *Scotland*; the other from their Children, which Children were, likewiſe, the only Heirs by Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*; and for the Right the few *Norman* Kings had by the Sword, they gave it back to his MAJESTY's Anceſtors by the Marriage of *Henry* I. with *Maud the Good*. From ſuch an Origin came the Race of *Plantagenets*.

Num-

Numbers to a neighbouring * Prince, who had married a Siſter of the *Engliſh* Family; and though they carried with them our *Names*, and Blood, and Language, yet through Reſentment they diſowned all Affinity, till the *Union* of the two *Kingdoms* brought them once again under the Denomination of Fellow-Subjects.

I AM well aware, that thoſe of the *French* Faction may reply, that theſe are Matters *out of Date*, and ſcarce regarded even by the *Engliſh*.

BUT they are not ſo much out of Date as People imagine. Does not the *Curfeu* ſtill reſound in our Villages? Do not our *Kalendars*, excepting †one, which ſome *Antigallican* Hand hath reformed, by replacing the glorious Race of the *Engliſh* Kings, begin (O! unparalleled Abſurdity!) the *regal* Table, with the very *Æra* which extinguiſhed for a Time the Honour of our Kings, and began their *People*'s Miſery. But beſide theſe *external* Marks of Diſgrace, there may remain *internal* and SHARP Remembrancers of a *latent* Malady. The Wound received at the *Norman-French* Invaſion was like that of an *envenomed* Dart, it conveyed a Poiſon which may long be lurking in the Veins of our Mother-Couutry. Our *Conſtitution* hath never recovered

* *Malcolm Kenmour*, King of *Scotland*, ſee *Note* p. 17.
† The *Stationers* Almanack, with an hiſtorical Print.

itſelf

itſelf ſo far, as to retain, for *any Time*, the healthy State of an *equal* Mixture. And that ſuch Things as theſe are not regarded by the preſent Age, is ſo far from makiug paſt Tranſactions of no Importance, that this *Lethargy* of the People, with reſpect to thoſe Tranſactions, is the very Thing, that we lament, ſince, *what has been, may be*; I mean from the ſame *Deluſion* on the one Part, and *Want of Diſcernment* on the other, may ariſe once and again the ſame Conſequences.

For in Caſe of a new *French* Invaſion, for Want of taking Example from the ſimilar Misfortunes of their Forefathers, I aſk, would not the ſame bad Part be acted more extenſively in theſe Iſlands? Would not the *French* Faction, as at the Death of *Harold*, after a *mock* Battle or *two*, be inclined to embrace the *Invader*, and ſuch *Terms*, as he brought with him; and would not the *Antigallican* Party immediately ſeparate from ſuch *Wretches* as theſe? And thus, as at the *Norman* Period, by *Seduction* on the one Side, and through *Reſentment* on the other, *France* would have it in its Power to *divide*, and conſequently to *baffle* the Strength of the *Britiſh* Empire, and lead *three* Kingdoms captive at it's Pleaſure.

AND now, having made good the Charge, "That *France* is to *England* what *Egypt* "was to *Iſrael*, that it preſents to you an "Idolatrous Religion, that it has been to "you an *Houſe of Bondage*, that it has ſepa-"rated many *from* their *native Land*, ſome "through Reſentment, ſome by *Seduc-*"*tion*, and, if not properly oppoſed, may "one Time be the Cauſe of our national "Ruin,"—I come, in the *laſt* Place to, obviate the Danger ariſing from this Similitude of Circumſtances, by ſhewing in what Parts we are moſt affected, and propoſing the Methods of Prevention.

IT is in ſome Caſes proper to be inſtructed by an *Enemy*, and if we cannot turn their Artillery back upon themſelves, we ought at leaſt to ſilence it, and be particularly guarded in *that Quarter*, where they have moſt annoyed us.

ONE chief Inſtrument, which the crafty *Norman* made uſe of, as moſt effectual to our Deſtruction, was the introducing of the *French* LANGUAGE and EDUCATION: We therefore, who are *Antigallicans*, ſhould traverſe his Deſigns, and if there be any ſuch *Engine* now at Work among us, we ought to have a particular Regard to the Extent and Force of its Operation, which

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is likely to be more fatal, ſince we do not, like the *old* ENGLISH, wiſh to obſtruct it, but admit it in its full Extent and Influence. For, beſide the tolerating the Increaſe of their *Religion*, which comes in by an eaſy Conſequence from the other, we may reckon that we countenance at this Day *two* Sorts of *French* EDUCATION.

THE *firſt* is that of ſending *Engliſh* Children to reſide in *France*, for the Purpoſe of receiving from thence a more *hopeful* Kind of Inſtruction.

THE *ſecond* is that of breeding them to their *Language* and imported Follies, as they are here in uſe at Home.

THE *firſt Species* of Education appears, at Sight, to be very dangerous, ſince it is likely to produce in the riſing Generation, even from their tender Years, a greater Love of *France* than of their own Country. For all People, if they are treated *civilly* (and the *French* would be much wanting to themſelves, if they did not treat our Children *civilly*) bear a very kind Remembrance of the Place of their *Education*, and as the *Affections* of Youth are ſtronger than their *Reaſon*, they would not eaſily quit their Prejudices, even though they were to find them heartily oppoſed upon their returning Home; which however is a kind of Oppoſition they are not likely to meet

with. For, upon coming back to their own Country, being too *elegant* to converſe with ſuch as are *Engliſh bred*, and deſirous withall to diſplay their Attainments before *proper* Judges, they principally mix with thoſe, who have travelled in the ſame Road; or elſe, that they may be ſtill *more admired*, with that *ſecond* Claſs of our Youth, who are forced to pick up a *French* Education here at home; who likewiſe imbibing with the Language, *Maxims*, and *Ideas* of the ſame *Mode*, may either not differ from them at all in Sentiments, or if they do, may very civilly reckon it to be through their own Misfortune, in not having ſeen ſo much of the World as the *Travellers*, and therefore be tempted to wiſh, that they might alſo finiſh their *Education* in the ſame *Place*. And thus by the *Humour* ſpreading too far, before it be oppoſed, we may have a *French* Education grow ſo faſhionable, as even to infect the *Principles* and *Notions* of a Prince; or if it ſtop ſhort of that, yet remaining among the *generality* of People of *Rank* and *Condition*, it will draw after it a Liking, and *Connection* with the Place, which in the next Step produces *Commerce*, *Reſidence* of whole Families, *Tranſportation* of our Wealth, and *Conſumption* of it in an Enemy's Country; which is an Addition of Wealth to them, and

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conſequently an Addition of Power. See all theſe *great*, but *unſuſpected* Evils ariſing from the ſingle *Article* of a *Gallick* Education. A Thing, which can be of Uſe but to few of our Men, thoſe chiefly who are *Scholars*, or *Negotictors*, and to our *Women* often a Matter of *great Detriment*, is made notwithſtanding the Inſtrument of carrying our *Wealth* and *Commerce* into a wrong Channel, and of importing back ſuch Notions in *Politicks*, and *Religion*, as tend to our *national* Ruin.

For by the *Politicks* of *France*, which are imported hither, I do not only underſtand the *direct* Commendation of their *own arbitrary Syſtem*, but alſo the *Deluſions* which they deliver at large concerning the Conduct, we are to obſerve at Home, or the Part, we are to take in the Affairs of *Europe*. Maxims of this Sort, as they are calculated entirely for the *Intereſt* of a *rival* Nation, you may take it for granted are deſigned to be *directly* oppoſite to the *Intereſt* of your own. And therefore you have ſhrewd Reaſon always to diſbelieve, ſuſpect, and oppoſe them.

As on the ſame Motive of *national* Security, as well as for the *Honour of Chriſt*, and his glorious Goſpel, you will always find Cauſe to oppoſe their Religion, becauſe as their Politicks would *delude* you, in the *Conduct*

of your *natural* Force, their RELIGION would *diſarm* you of it at once, by perſuading People in the very *Criſis*, when they are called to *Action*, that if they have a Mind to *ſave their Souls*, they muſt quit the Service of their native Country.

WE ought therefore, in Times of ſeeming *Peace*, to be particularly watchful of theſe *covered* Approaches of the Enemy; and then we may hope to be more ſucceſsful in Times of *War*.

FOR which, if we would provide with any Degree of common Prudence, we muſt not ſuffer *our* Artificers to build, or *our* Sailors to man thoſe *Fleets*, which are one Time or other to be employed againſt our native Country; but we muſt find out ſome Means of keeping theſe our *free-born* Subjects *unalienated* from us in *Affection* and *Intereſt*, by finding out in *peaceable* Times ſome proper Employment for them at *Home*. We cannot upon this Occaſion follow any better Advice than that which our *bleſſed* SAVIOUR once gave to his Diſciples, * *Launch out into the Deep, and let down your Nets for a Draught*. Nature and Providence, by ſurrounding you with the *Ocean*, have put into your Poſſeſſion the *native* Uſe and Profits of the *Deep*. It invites you from your very Doors to parti-

* Luke v. 4.

cipate

cipate its living Treaſures; and will enable you by the Gains of *Fiſhing*, and continual *Experience* upon the Waves, to ſupport ſuch a Body of *induſtrious* Mariners, as may fill, upon Occaſion, our Ships of War, and maintain that Power which ſhould always be ſufficient to awe our *Neighbours* upon the *Element*, which we call our *own*.

THOUGH, my good *Countrymen*, let not *French Artifice* and *Politicks*, working upon your own ſanguine Conceit of Things, ſo far delude a *Britiſh* Mind, as to make you think that the Fleet of *England* in all its Glory will of itſelf preſerve to you the *Dominion* of the Sea, or ſecure to you *Peace* and *Safety* in your own *Habitation*. For if the *French* can once perſuade you, that you have no Concern with the *Continent* (by which they mean that you ſhould give it up to them) while you are parading it upon the Ocean (for ſome of our Expeditions by *Sea* have not been quite ſo ſucceſsful as thoſe conducted by our much honoured *Preſident*) I ſay, while you are parading it upon the Ocean, they by an uninterrupted *Land-War* may ſwallow, one after another, the *leſſer* Provinces and Kingdoms on the *neighbouring* Coaſt, and conſequently get into their Hands all their *Builders*, *Mariners*, and *Shipping*; and then,

being *poſſeſſed* of, or having under their *Direction* every Port from the *Italian* Shoar, up the *Atlantick* to the *German* Ocean, they would not only overpower your *Fleets*, by out-numbering your Shipping, in a *Proportion*, which would *amaze* you; but alſo ſoon give you to underſtand, that you had another *Element* to maintain as well as *Water*, by finding Places to land, in every maritime *Country*.

THEN how are you to withſtand them? Why truly by the ſame Means that you might at firſt have *checked* them; not by a *ſmall* Body of mercenary Troops, which (though valiant, and very uſeful to quell any *popular* Tumult) can never be equal to the many *Calls* and *Movements* of a ſudden *Invaſion*, eſpecially in ſuch wide Countries as theſe his MAJESTY's *Imperial* Dominions. No! in this Caſe, we can never be ſo properly aſſiſted, as by an * *able, faithful*

* In Sir *R——W——*'s Time, the Objection to an eſtabliſhed *Militia* was, that the Country People were in many Places diſaffected.—Why? they were not born ſo. Who made them ſo? The *'Squire* and the *Parſon* have generally the Conduct of our Villages.—Had theſe a *Gallick* Education? Whoſe Fault was that? Did not our then Miniſters of State know how to alter it? Or were they over-ruled by the Authority of my Lord *B——*, who, in his *Patriot King*, abuſes ſome *Gentleman* for proving, that in the Caſe of *hereditary* Right the *Title* belonged to his preſent MAJESTY. Now as the contrary Opinion has ever been, and is ſtill of the greateſt Detriment to his MAJESTY, no reaſonable

ful and *every-where-extended* MILITIA. Look back I beſeech you to the Example and Experience of your Fore-Fathers. Their *Conduct* will never *delude* you; Time, and *Fame*, and *Fortune* have ſet their Seals to their Wiſdom. How was it that our *Edwards* and *Henries* conquered *France*? They had Shipping in Proportion to the *French*, as we have *now*, or *more*;— but they had *Men* as well as *Shipping*, and whence had they their Men but from their *Militia*? I would aſk but one Queſtion more— *How did they uſe them*? Why when the *Enemy* grew

ſonable Perſon can ſee why any Gentleman ſhould be diſcouraged for delivering *ignorant* People from ſuch *Prejudices*, eſpecially as there is ſo much *Truth* and *Reaſon* to aſſiſt him in the *Cauſe*. It is ſaid that the King of *Pruſſia*, to gain the Affection of his Subjects, wrote the *Memoirs* of the Houſe of *Brandenburgh*. Why then ſhould our Children be debarred the *Memoirs* of the Houſe of *Brunſwick*? or why another *Manual* concerning the *Errors* of *Popery*? If Sir *Robert* had deſired it, the *Lords* the *Biſhops* would certainly have ordered all the *Schoolmaſters* in their *Dioceſes* to have admitted and taught ſuch Books; and thus, in the Compaſs of twenty Years, we might have bred as many good Subjects in *all* our *Schools* and *Univerſities* in *England*, as the wiſer *Engliſh* on the *Weſtern* Side of the Water have done in the Charity-Schools alone in *Ireland*.

* *Spectatum admiſſi*———

I am afraid that Omiſſions of this Sort gave Ground to the *Foreigner*'s Remark, who ſaid that from the Times of *Elizabeth*, excepting WILL. III. and ſome of his *Statſmen*, very few others, however well turned to manage in ſome little *limited* Provinces, to gain *particular* Points, or ſerve to *ſmaller* Purpoſes, knew any thing of the *juſt*, the *fundamental* and *wide-extending* Politicks of *England*.

grew *turbulent*, and were for ſpreading *themſelves* beyond their *Boundary*, they made a † *Deſcent* upon their Territory, and found them proper Employment in their *own* Country.

THUS you ſee, that it is neceſſary to the *Safety* of theſe *Kingdoms*, to have ever ready upon an Emergency both ‡ *good Shipping* and *good Soldiers*, and all this upon the laudable Motive of *Self-Defence* againſt a very *ſubtle*, and at certain Times, a very *danderous* publick Enemy. I hope there are

† Thus ſpeaks our *ancient* Hiſtory; but if ancient Times are beyond our *Ken*, I could mention an Incident in the *laſt War*, which was quite ſimilar, and being within our *Memory*, may be better ſuited to our *Apprehenſion*. It was the Expedition to Port *l'Orient*, which, though ſtarved and miſconducted, yet ſufficiently ſhewed, whoever he was, the Wiſdom of the *Adviſer*; for it cauſed ſuch a Trepidation in *France*, as immediately drew back the *beſt* of their Forces from other Countries, to traverſe in a *Hurry* the whole Extent of their own.

‡ This Remark is countenanced by the Conduct of one of our *greateſt* KINGS and LAWGIVERS, whoſe Reign was much diſturbed by *Invaſions*. "To prevent the Kingdom from being infeſted any more by foreign *Enemies*, ALFRED diſpoſed the *Militia* in ſuch Manner, as enabled him to make head againſt any *Invaſion*. He kept in each *County* a Body of Troops, always ready to march under the Conduct of the *Earl* or *Governor*. Upon the firſt Notice of an Invaſion, the Earls had Orders to join Forces at certain Places, under the Command of a *Generaliſſimo* appointed by the King. By this Means, together with a numerous *Fleet*, which was always either *ready* to put to Sea, or *cruiſing* round the Iſland, he kept the *Foreigners* in ſo much Awe, that, during the reſt of his Reign, they durſt not attempt to make a *Deſcent*." *Rapin's* Hiſt. *England*, Vol. I. p. 95.

not

not any in this Audience (of our *Brothers*, I am ſure there are not) ſo weak or ignorant, as to imagine this *Doctrine* meant to ſtir up an *Antichriſtian* Heat againſt any *private* Perſon, or any *Number* of private Perſons, who may happen to be of *French* Extraction, unleſs they are knowingly concerned in Attempts to *enſlave* our Country; becauſe this is a Queſtion not between *private* People, as ſuch; but between *Nation* and *Nation:* Our Reſentment only lies againſt their Attempts to ſubject us to their *Yoke*, againſt their *National* Schemes and Politicks, which tending to *Tyranny*, or *arbitrary* Power, we cannot but abhor the Authors of ſuch Deſigns, in whatſoever Shape they may appear, even though they ſhould chance to be our *own* * Countrymen.

* A remarkeble Inſtance of this Spirit, we have in the Hiſtory of the *Kentiſh* Petition, in the Year 1701. The ſame Morning that Mr. *Colepepper* ſurrendered himſelf, the (*a*) Legion *Paper*, as it was called, was ſent to the Houſe: 'Twas ſaid it was delivered to the Speaker by a Woman; but I have been informed ſince, that it was a Miſtake, and that it was delivered by the very Perſon who wrote it, guarded with about ſixteen Gentlemen of Quality, who, if any Notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by Force, *&c.* Be that as it will, that Paper ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Party in the Houſe, that from that time there was not a Word ever ſpoken in the Houſe, of proceeding againſt the *Kentiſh* Petitioners, and the Members of that Party began to drop off, and get into the Country; for their Management began to be ſo much diſliked over the whole Nation, that their own Fears dictated

men. For we look upon *Tyranny* with the ſame *Horror* and *Enmity*, that we do a *Serpent*, which none but *Fools* would handle, and none but *Madmen* receive into their *Boſom*. And that this, which is a *natural* Senſe and providential *Inſtinct*, may

tated to them, they had run Things too far. *Hiſt. of the* Kentiſh *Petition*, p. 14.

(*a*) The *Legion Letter* was a Memorial, which, among other things, contained a Claim of Right under *ſeven* Heads, of which the three former run thus:—"We do hereby claim and declare, *Firſt*, That it is the undoubted *Right* of the People of *England*, in caſe their Repreſentatives in Parliament do not proceed according to their Duty, and the People's Intereſt, to inform them of their Diſlike, diſown their Actions, and to direct them to ſuch things as they thing fit, either by Petition, Addreſs, Propoſal, Memorial, or any other peaceable way.—*Secondly*, That the Houſe of Commons *ſeparately*, and otherwiſe than by *a Bill legally paſſed into an Act*, have no *legal* Power to *ſuſpend or diſpenſe with the Laws of the Land*, any more than the KING has by his *Prerogative*.—*Thirdly*, That the Houſe of Commons have no *legal* Power, to impriſon any Perſon, or commit them to Cuſtody of Serjeants or otherwiſe (their own Members excepted) but ought to addreſs the King, to cauſe any Perſon, on good Grounds, to be apprehended, which Perſon, ſo apprehended, ought to have the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and be brought to Trial by due Courſe of Law." After other Claims it concludes:—"Thus, Gentlemen, you have your Duty laid before you, which it is hoped you will think of: But if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the Reſentments of an injured Nation; *Engliſhmen* are no more to be *Slaves* to *Parliaments*, than to *Kings*. Our Name is LEGION, and we are MANY." *Kennet's* Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 809.———Such a Spirit in the People, if Matters had not been huſhed, would probably have required the ſame *Security* of an Oath concerning *their Liberties*, from their next Repreſentatives, that their Anceſtors exacted from the *Norman* King.

appear

appear to all to be *well*, and *properly* grounded; conſider, I beſeech you, with ſome Degree of Compariſon, and with all the Attention you can lend, the *Bleſſings* of Liberty, and the *Curſe and Danger* of living under arbitrary Power. For where the latter prevails, when you think you are going to a *Feaſt*, you may be inſtantly hurried to a *Priſon*, and inſtead of returning, as you imagined, to meet the Expectations of your Family, and repoſe in Peace upon your Bed, you may be torn from the Embrace of your Wives and Children, and without Regard to their unavailing Cries, ſhut up in continual *Night*, amidſt the *Horrors* of a *loathſome* Dungeon, from which the *Innocence* of your own Heart, or the *ſacred* Power of *righteous* Laws, would not releaſe you; you would either be denied a Trial, or however, deprived of that ineſtimable Bleſſing, the Right of being tried by your *Peers*, or † *Juries*, the Birthright

† The Inſtitutions of *Juries* was by *Alfred* the Great: He ordered, that in all *Criminal Actions*, twelve Men, choſen for that Purpoſe, ſhould determine concerning the Fact, and the Judge give Sentence according to their *Verdict*. This Privilege, enjoyed by the *Engliſh* to this Day, is, doubtleſs, the nobleſt and moſt valuable that Subjects can have. An *Engliſhman*, accuſed of any Crime, is to be tried only by his Peers, that is, by Perſons of his own Rank. By this Means, he is out of all Danger of being oppreſſed, how powerful ſoever his Accuſers may be. Theſe

right of an *Engliſhman!* No; in an *arbitrary* Country, againſt the *Law* of *Nature*, your *Accuſers* would be your *Judges:* And thoſe, perhaps, ſo far from what we call our *Peers*, or Equals, that they would be Strangers to Juſtice and to common Senſe, the moſt abandoned, ignorant, mercileſs Sort of People. From a View of ſuch an horrible Scene, learn to prize the happy Conſtitution of your native Country, where, by an *immemorial Engliſh* Cuſtom, our Kings themſelves are obliged, by Oath, to guard the Laws, and defend our Liberties.

THOUGH, beſide the Protection which our Conſtitution affords us, we poſſeſs, at preſent, another amiable Security in his *Majeſty*'s natural Goodneſs and *fatherly* Affection to his People, of which we have had ſo *many* Years Experience. He is in Principle and Conduct truly *Antigallican*, and ſuch are the Princes, of his *royal* Race. I believe, my Brethren, this is the very *Anniverſary* of that Event, when his royal Deſcendent, whoſe Sword has been often drawn againſt our ancient Enemy, diſarmed and took Priſoners, upon *Britiſh*

Theſe twelve Men, choſen out of many others, with the Approbation of the Perſon accuſed, are called by the collective Name of *Jury*. Theſe are properly the Perſons, by whom the Life or Death of the Party accuſed is determined. Happy the People that enjoy ſo glorious a Privilege! *Rapin*'s Hiſt. *England*, Vol. I. p. 95.

Ground,

Ground, that Party of the *French*, who had ſeduced to their Cauſe our *unhappy* Fellow-Subjects. Let us therefore celebrate, in this Day's Feſtivity, the *Antigallican* Atchievements of this *princely* Commander, and gratefully remember, next to the Favour of *Divine* Providence, to whoſe Arm we owe the Bleſſings of the *preſent* Hour; the Bleſſings of *Joy*, and *Gladneſs*, of *Plenty*, *Peace*, and *Liberty*.

Seaſonable

SEASONABLE

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

IMPORTANCE

OF THE

NAME of *ENGLAND:*

WHEREIN it is ENQUIRED;

Whether the *Diſuſe* of that NAME, and likewiſe that of ENGLISH-MAN, among thoſe, who are of *Engliſh* Extraction hath not ſenſibly hurt and diminiſhed the Strength, Influence, and Extent of our native Country.

Addreſs'd to ***, Eſq; Member of *** and Preſident of one of the laudable Aſſociations of *Antigallicans.*

φθίξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ἐπίβηθε βεβήλους.
Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκουε.——— ORPHEUS.

Illud Te, *nulla Fati quod Lege tenetur,*
Pro Latio Obteſtor, pro Majeſtate Tuorum
Cum jam Connubiis Pacem fulcibus, ipſe;
Component; cum jam Leges & Fœdera jungent:
Ne vetus indigenas Nomen *mutare Latinos*
Neu, Troas *fieri jubeas* Teucroſque *vocari:*
Sit Romana *potens Italâ Virtute propago*
Occidit, occideritque ſinas cum Nomine TROJA.
VIRGIL.

The SECOND EDITION.

Seaſonable REFLECTIONS, &c.

SIR,

AS the *Device* and *Motto*, which the Founders of our Order have wiſely choſen intimate, that the Cauſe of our *firſt* ASSOCIATING as *Antigallicans* was FOR OUR COUNTRY; to be watchful in our ſeveral Stations of it's Intereſt, and particularly to oppoſe ourſelves to the *inſidious* or *hoſtile* Machinations of our *French* Rivals: I believe the Subject I am about to ſpeak upon, The *Importance of the* Name *of* ENGLAND, a Subject, which for its Merit might demand the Talents of the ableſt Writer, will by no Means be thought foreign to the *Deſign* of our *Inſtitution*. Since it is very obſervable, that in Proportion, as this Name of ours is raiſed, or declines, the Spirit of our *national* ADVERSARIES, by the Rule of Contrariety, riſes and declines likewiſe. And therefore as a Matter of this Sort is continually the Object of their Concern; it certainly requires of us, who are as much, or more intereſted than they, an equal if not a greater Share of Attention.

In order therefore, that this once ſo fair and ſtately Plant, the high and exalted Name of *England*, which has for Ages attracted the Eye and Admiration of neighbouring Beholders, may not on a ſudden, loſe its Honours and betray the ſhrinking Verdure of a blaſted Oak: I muſt beg leave to remove the Sand, and Rubbiſh, which may encloſe its Roots, and to ſee if all be ſound and uncorrupt at Bottom. It is the Soil it grows in, which muſt ſupport its Vigour, let us therefore firſt examine its *native* Earth, where its ancient venerable Fibres are inſerted, and conſider whether the Ground itſelf be *naturally* diſpoſed to nouriſh it. And here to ſpeak out of *Metaphor*; I am afraid the Generality of my Countrymen are but ill qualified to accompany me in this neceſſary Examination. For it is but too plain, that the Ignorance of the common People hath had ſuch *nurſing Fathers*, that before I can ſpeak intelligibly upon the Subject, I muſt explain to the *Engliſh* themſelves what I mean by *the Country* and the *People* of England.

By the English *Nation* then I mean the Deſcendents of *all* thoſe People, who ſoon after the Year of our Lord 444, came hither to *Britain* from lower *Saxony*. This extends not only to thoſe, who under the Command of *Hengiſt* and his Brother *Horſa* firſt erected the Kingdom of *Kent*;

or

or thoſe, who accompanied his Kinſmen *Octa* and *Abbiſſa* in their Expedition to the *North*, when ſailing round the *Pictiſh* Dominions they ravaged the *Orkneys*, and ſettled themſelves in many Tracts of Land beyond the *Friths*; but alſo to thoſe other *Tribes* of the ſame *Nation* who between thoſe Extremities of the Iſland before-mentioned occupied by Degrees all the Country, excepting, what is now the Principality of *Wales*, and that, which was then conquered by the *Scotchmen* from the *Britons*, and lay chiefly in the *Highlands* to the North of the *Britons*, having the new *Engliſh* Acquiſitions, and the *Picts* on the *Eaſt*; and *Ireland* on the *Weſt*.

THE judicious Reader may obſerve from this, that by the *Country* of ENGLAND, I would underſtand at leaſt (for there have been many other *Acceſſions* ſince) all that *Territory*, which antiently compoſed our *ſeven* SAXON *Kingdoms, the chief Dominion over which devolving to* EGBERT, (King of *Weſt-Saxe*, or the Weſt of *England*) he, for the Sake of *Union*, and becauſe the *Angles* were the moſt powerful Tribe among the other *Saxons*, called himſelf KING of ALL *Angle-Londe*. The Royal Name of the Country then became *Angle-Lond*, or *England*: Though the *Saxon* Denomination ſtill remained to leſſer *Provinces*, or *Diſtricts*; as it remains to the Counties of

Eaſt-Saxe, *Middle-Saxe*, and *South-Saxe*, to this very Day.

I HAVE nothing to premiſe in particular, concerning any of the ſeven Kingdoms, excepting that of *Northumberland*; which was divided into two Provinces, *Deira*, and *Bernicia*. *Deira* comprehended all the Land, between the *Humber*, and the *Tweed*: And *Bernicia* all, between the *Tweed* and the *Frith* of *Eden-borough*. The Standard of this Kingdom was the *Lion Rampant*, &c. one would only therefore, by the Way, recommend theſe Circumſtances to the Conſideration of the *Engliſh-Gentlemen* in the *North*, who are apt to call themſelves by another Name.

BUT to return; the whole Kingdom of *England* thus made out of ſeven, became by its *Union* the *Glory of all Nations*. Its Dominion was ſo compleat and irreſiſtible here at Home; that by the Reign of *Edgar* *, the King of *England* was ſtiled ſupreme Lord and Emperor over every Tract of Land in the *Britiſh* Iſles, and over the fierceſt Potentates as far as *Norway*. In after Times, when our People carried their Arms into foreign Countries, *Richard* I. King of *England*, during the *holy* War in the *Eaſt* made the greateſt Figure of all the *European* Princes, and was the moſt dreaded, and at the ſame Time

* See his Charter at the End of this Treatiſe.

the

the moſt reſpected by his Pagan Enemies.

And, when the *Place of Exerciſe for our Troops* was ſo near as *France*, the People there were often made ſo ſenſible of our Proweſs, while our *Edwards* and our *Harrys* contended for that Crown, that they were forced to receive an *Engliſh* King in *France*, and Crown him at *Paris*; an *Engliſh* Duke was *Regent*, or *Lord-Lieutenant* of the Country; and in Conſequence of that Footing then obtained, the Title of *King* of France remains with uncancelled Rights of Claim to the *King* of England ſtill.

Conſidering then, what the Glory of *England* has antiently been, it is not only natural, but extremely honeſt and commendable in every *Engliſhman*; nay it is his Duty, to be heartily concerned for preſerving the *Name* and *Intereſt* of his Country, which Name and Intereſt could not be preſerved without diſtinguiſhing what they mean; and ſuch Diſtinction, I hope, may be made without Offence to any People, moſt eſpecially to thoſe, whoſe Intereſt, and Proſperity is wrapped up, and contained in ours; who have been taught to feel the Benefits of our Commerce, who thrive by our Thrivings, ſhare in our *eccleſiaſtical*, *civil*, and *military* Employments, and partake in our Glory and our Power. We may be kind and affectionate to our

Countrymen, who bear love to us, but we are not in Conſequence of this Affection to carry our Complaiſance ſo far, as to give up our very NAME and BEING.

I AM ſenſible, that many Gentlemen from *Scotland* and *Ireland* and of the true and *antient Britons*, perhaps the moſt of all are ſtrictly united with us in the common Cauſe of *Antigallicans*, and therefore in aſcertaining, what is meant by *England*, and aſſerting the *Engliſh* Cauſe; I am the leſs afraid of offending theſe Gentlemen, being well perſuaded, that in the Progreſs of this Diſcourſe, they will many of them be inclined, either to acknowledge themſelves of the ſame Original, as we; or, if not that, as they are united with us againſt the *French*, to wiſh entirely well to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, which they will always find to be moſt *properly* their OWN. When I make Exception to the *Scotch* or *Iriſh*, if they are *ſtrictly* of thoſe Nations, I mean the *Popiſh* and *Wild* IRISH; or ſuch *Highland* SCOTS as are diſaffected to the *Union* with *England*. For if theſe People are not united to *England*, they muſt de united to *France*: And where this is the Caſe, it were better to meet them among the *Brigades* of their Countrymen in the *French* Service abroad, than find them lurking here at home, under the Appearance of

Fellow-

Fellow-Subjects, and yet no better than falſe, and pretended Friends.

After this ſhort Explication of our Circumſtances, you will be the better able to fix upon my *Meaning*, when I declare that——

By the Idea, which I have been able to form of the *Genius* of our own People, and that of ſome others, who are here connected with us as his Majeſty's Subjects, and who yet, by their national Views and Attempts manifeſted in a long Series of Hiſtory, appear not to be heartily in the ſame Intereſt: I have been often led to believe, that the innovated Style or Title of *King of Great Britain*, for what Cauſe ſoever at firſt invented, inſtead of promoting Unanimity has rather helped to ſerve many of their bad Purpoſes againſt our Nation, and does every Day more and more viſibly ſubject this, which was ever in itſelf the prime, powerful, and leading Kingdom, to ſuch a ſenſible Diminution, and ſuch a Degree of Obſcurity, as threaten little leſs than its approaching final Oblivion, and Decay.

For the Conſequence of this new Style and Title to us has been manifeſtly this; That *while* the Bulk of the *Engliſh* have given up, and forgot their Intereſt and Superiority as *Engliſh-Saxons*, by calling themſelves *Britons*, yet the other Nations here have

have not been ſo forward in the Coalition: Nor are they ſo ignorant, but that they ſtill remember their different Original and ours; and not only keep cloſe in Mind, but ſtrenuouſly extend their *old national* NAME and INTEREST, ſometimes, very unfairly, by adopting to themſelves People, which by Blood, Language, and Family are really ours. I have no Occaſion to go to *Ireland* for Inſtances of this Sort, where the Infatuation on our Part is ſo great, that we are aiding and aſſiſting in this Kind of political Murder, or rather Parricide committed on the venerable Name of our Forefathers. For though the governing Part, and much the greater Number of Inhabitants there, be *Engliſh*; Yet we never diſtinguiſh them as ſuch, unleſs for Security's Sake againſt the WILD *Iriſh* they diſtinguiſh themſelves; but ſo ſoon as any one from hence ſhall ſettle in *Ireland*, he is immediately dubbed an *Iriſhman*, and there is one *Engliſhman* with his Deſcendents blotted out of our *Cenſus-Roll* for ever: But I ſay we need not croſs the Water for Inſtances of this unregarded, but what may be, one Time or other, intereſting Alienation of *Engliſh* Subjects: If we confine our Obſervations to this Iſland, the Practice is very viſible amongſt the SCOTS, who daily comprehend under their Name, Numbers of true and genuine *Engliſh*: And while

while they are privately as tenacious as ever of their own national Diſtinction, of *Scot*, yet ſubtilly avail themſelves in Publick of the Name of *Britons*: That in Caſe of a Rebellion againſt *our* King, or Rupture with *England*, they may draw over to their Side the true *Britiſh* or *Welſh*; though they cut the Throats of the Anceſtors of that People, and had extirpated the *antient Britiſh*, Nation, had not the *Engliſh*, at the Requeſt of the *Britons*, come over from lower *Saxony*, and reduced both the Scots and *Picts* to their proper Boundary.

This then being the little Service, that the Name of *Briton* has done to *Engliſhmen*, or the Name of *Great Britain* to our *Country*; that it has made us forget our own national Name and Intereſt, while it has rendered others tenacious in remembering, and buſy in extending theirs, and moreover furniſhed them on Occaſion with a Pretext for a triple Coalition of *Welſh*, *Scotch*, and Wild *Iriſh* againſt us, ſince theſe will ever call us and repute us *Saſſons*, let us change our Name as often as we will: I believe it will be allowed, if not however, in the Sequel it ſhall be proved, that the *Title* of King of *Great Britain* aſſumed by the Firſt of the *Steward*-Family, who came to this Crown by his Connection with the *Tudors*, has done a more ſenſible Injury to the People of *England*, than if he had placed

Scot-

Scotland before *England* and ſtyled himſelf King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France and Ireland*. For why, the Folly of this *Scotch* Arrogance, I mean of thoſe *Highland* Chiefs, who ſhould have drove this weak and timorous Prince to ſuch a Degree of Preſumption, would have put People in that Age, which was a very enlightened one with Reſpect to Hiſtory, upon enquiring, what was the real Extent of the *true* and *proper* SCOTLAND (a few Counties in the *Weſtern* HIGHLANDS) and the Number of thoſe, who were really *Scotchmen*; and likewiſe upon comparing the *Extent* and *Power* of *England*, and alſo *Ireland*, an *Engliſh* Acquiſition, filled with *Engliſhmen*, at firſt a Lordſhip, but which came to him as a *Kingdom* appendent to this Crown: I ſay, it would have put People upon comparing the Weight of his new Acquiſitions with that of his old and barren Poſſeſſion. And then the Laugh of the World would have forced him to have replaced *England*, potent as it then was, in itſelf, and its Appendages at the Head of his Titles. By which Means it would have retained its NAME, and its NAME would have preſerved to it its *natural* Weight and Dignity.

WHEREAS by burying the *Name* under the Title of *Great Britain*, it is ſo often miſſing even at Home, as ſcarce to be met with

with, unleſs in old *Ballads*, or *Briefs*; or in ſome *Forms* of *Law*, that require the Preſervation of the Name of *England* by Way of *Diſtinction*. While the Generality of her *ignorant* and *ſtupid* Sons, to ſay nothing of ſome of her *unthinking*, and *unlettered* Stateſmen call themſelves *Britons*, a Name honourable enough to thoſe few People, to whom it truly belongs, but to *Engliſhmen* as it is now uſed, the Means of aboliſhing their own Name entirely, and by Conſequence of taking away their *exiſtence* as a Nation.

For as new as this *Maxim* may appear to People, who have never thought upon theſe Matters, it has been allowed, and adopted in *antient* Times, as well as in *modern*, and perhaps I may add an intereſting, and *domeſtick* Example of its Truth, and Importance.

With regard to antient Times we read in *Scripture*, that when *Joſhua* was utterly to deſtroy the *Nations*, who had poſſeſſed the promiſed Land, the Order was, that he ſhould *put out their Name*; and elſewhere ſtill more emphatically, * *deſtroy their Name from under Heaven*. And the Opinion, that this was a moſt effectual Engine of Deſtruction to a Nation, was ſtill as ſtrong in the Time of † *David*. For we

* Deut. vii. 29. † Pſ. lxxxiii. 5.

read

read in the Pſalms, that the Enemies of the *Jews* conceived it to be a Means of cutting them off from being a Nation, if the *Name of* Iſrael ſhould be *no more in Remembrance*. So contrariwiſe the * *making them a* NAME, when applied to a Number of People, was in the Language of *Scripture* making them a *national* Eſtabliſhment. With Regard to other Nations. It is ſaid of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, the 5th King of *Rome*, who attempted the Deſtruction of the *Latins*, that he † *extinguiſhed their Name throughout* ITALY: And in after Times the *Romans* were ſo jealous of preſerving theirs, that though the *Latins* were quite incorporated with them as eternal Confederates, and prime Inſtruments of their Victories in War, yet they would never ſuffer them to have a ‡ *Latin* CON-

* Gen. xi. 4.

† Il eteignit le Nom, *&c.*

‡ It is hard to ſay, whether the *Romans* roſe to their Grandeur more by their *Arms*, or *Politicks*. They were as yet arrived to little more than an *Infant* State, yet how great and quick was the Diſcernment of the Conſul, *T. Manlius*, who ſees at once both the Drift of the Propoſal of *Annius*, and its Conſequences. Hear a Part of his *Paſſionate* and *Noble* Reply upon this Occaſion.

Audi, Jupiter *hæc Scelera, inquit, audite, Jus faſque! peregri os Conſules, & peregrinum Senatum in tuo* Jupiter *augurato Templo, captus atque ipſe oppreſſus vijurus es? hæccine Fœdera Tullus Roma us Rex cum Albanis Patribus veſtris, Latini, Hæc L. Tarquinius vobiſcum poſtea fecit? Non venit in Mentem pugna apud Regillum Lucum? Adeo & cladium veterum veſtrarum & beneficiorum noſtrarum erga vos obliti eſtis?*

Tit. Livi. Lib. 8. cap. 8.

SUL;

SUL; every Thing, that reſpected the *collective* Body of the People was ſtyled *Roman*; and this not only in *Italy* but in other Parts of the World, where they erected *Colonies*. We have a ſignal Inſtance of this in the New Teſtament, St. *Paul* himſelf found Occaſion to glory in the Name of a *Roman*, though he was not a Native of *Rome*, but of *Tarſus* a City of *Cilicia*, which had been indulged with certain *Roman* Privileges. With the ſame View the *Franks*, when they obtained the Sovereignty in *Gaul*, did not call themſelves *Gauls*, but took Care, that the *Gauls* ſhould call themſelves *Frenchmen*, by which Means the Nation parting with their *Name* parted with their Being as a Nation: And in the very midſt of *Gaul*, the *Gauls* are now forgot. And to produce Examples nearer Home, in the Diſpute between the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Scots* knew not how to get the Advantage of them, till they forced them to aboliſh their Name, and all Pretenſions to a ſeparate Kingdom, and by that Means drew them ſo effectually into their Intereſts, that at this Day the numerous Diſcendents of the *Picts* in the Country which made old *Pictland*, would take it amiſs, if you did not call them *Scots*. A great Inſtance of the Folly and Ignorance of the *Picts*, and at the ſame Time of the Cunning and Artifice of the *Scots*,

who

who by more than doubling the Extent of their *Name*, more than doubled the Extent of their own *Power*, while they utterly deſtroyed the Power of their Neighbours. We ſhould be careful therefore, that they do not play the ſame Game with us, as with the *Picts*, nor ſuffer them, or any other Nation to *obliterate*, or *contract* the Name of *England*. For the Extent of the Power of any Nation, is always in Proportion to the Extent of the Name of that Nation, I mean as it is expanded upon Territory, and marks this, or that Land, with the Name of this, or that People. That great Warrior and deep Politician *Oliver Cromwell*, was ſo ſenſible of the high Importance of their Name, to the Being of this People, that he found it neceſſary to lay aſide the Title of *Great Britain*, and reſtored, and preſerved upon his Coins, as of much greater Concern to us, the Name of *England*; and in his publick Anſwers and Converſations, was uſed to declare, that he would make the Name of an *Engliſhman* as terrible as that of a *Roman*.

If the hiſtorical Remarks, which I have laid together, are not ſufficient to convince People of the Truth of theſe Maxims, that the aboliſhing of the Name of a People, is always to be conſidered as a Means of extinguiſhing them as a Nation; and that the Extent of the Power of any Nation, is

is in Proportion to the Extent of the *Name* of that Nation, *&c.* let them conſider the Nature of the Thing.

WHAT is it that makes a large and powerful Family? Suppoſe a Clan; is it not the Extent of the Name of that Family upon a large Number of People? Again, What makes this Family more formidable and effective in Time of War? Is it not, that their Name, beſide the Signification of their Number and Extent, ſerves alſo as an infallible Watch-word, that collects them together, teaches them where to rendezvous, and according to the Unity of their Denomination, binds them *determinately* in one Intereſt. And upon an Affront offered, or Pique ſubſiſting amongſt great Families, which is often the Caſe in *Poland*, and other Countries, is not the Diſtinction in the Names of Families, the Diſtinction of Intereſts? And the Extinction of the Name, the Extinction of Intereſts?

IN Regard then, that any one Nation is only ſtill a greater Family, I affirm, that what are here repreſented as the Circumſtances of a *Family*, will in like Times and on like Occaſions be the Circumſtances of a Nation: And that *England* loſing its own Name entirely, or taking in the Room of it, one that is equivocal or uncertain, as not preciſely marking its proper Limits,

what belongs to it, or what not; upon an Emergency will either not aſſemble any Force at all, or none that will be diſtinctly, cordially, and properly its own. Becauſe in the firſt Place, People, who have no Name, have really no Means to aſſemble by; and if they borrow upon ſuch an Occaſion, one, that may be turned againſt them, they may find perhaps, the Force aſſembled under ſuch a Name, when they leaſt expect it, to be in the * Intereſt of their Neighbours, and not in that of their native Country.

Of ſuch Importance is the Preciſion and Extent of a Name, not only to a Family but to a Nation.

And now to apply what has been ſaid to *England*, and the Connection of *England* with the neighbouring Nations of the *Scots* and *Iriſh*; I muſt obſerve with reſpect to *Ireland*, that it is not only a baſe Contradiction to Truth, but alſo bad Policy to call the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, *Iriſh*, or the Country itſelf, without Diſtinction, *Ireland*. For why, it has been often remarkably ſubjected to *England* by Force of

* See for a Proof of this Marſhal *Lowendhal*'s Letter to Marſhal *Saxe*, after the taking of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, wherein he mentions the *Name* and *Force* of *Britons*, as employed againſt *England* in the Service of *France*. This Name therefore is ſometimes *equivocal*.

Univerſ. Traveller, Vol. 2. p. 64.

Arms;

Arms; and as often repleniſhed with Settlements of *Engliſhmen*, which Settlements have been likewiſe eſtabliſhed in particular Provinces, and therefore thoſe Provinces in true Policy ſhould have received, as ſome of them did, ſome particular Name, for a Memorial of the Settlement, and to connect it with the Name and Cauſe of the People *ſettling*. I will relate a ſhort Story here, that particularly reſpecteth *Ireland*, which will ſhew, that without this Method the People in a *Mother* Country may grow to be ignorant of their own *Children*, the Children of the Mother, and conſequently thinking her a Stranger, grow regardleſs of her Intereſt; as is the Caſe at this Day, of *England*, and *Lower Saxony*, though now again united under one ſovereign Prince.

But to return to *Ireland*. It appears by the Charter of King * *Edgar*, that in the Year 964, the City of *Dublin*, with the greateſt Part of that Country, were ſubject to this Kingdom. The *Norman* Uſurpation of the Crown diſconcerting in every Part the *Engliſh* Affairs, *Ireland* was for a Seaſon neglected, till the Time of ‡ *Henry*

† See the Charter at the End.

‡ *Speed* obſerves therefore very juſtly, that Henry II. had an *antient* Title to *Ireland*, derived from his Anceſtors

the

the Second, when it was over-run by *Strongbow*, Earl of *Pembroke* and *Chepſtow*; it was reduced again by Queen *Elizabeth*, again by *Cromwell*, again by King *William* the Third. The Expeditions under *Henry* and *Cromwell*, according to the Wiſdom and Power of ſuch Leaders, occaſioned two great Settlements of the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*. The Story I am going to relate has Reſpect unto the firſt, which was made about *Wexford* and *Fingal*, where the *Engliſh* Colony was ſo conſiderable as to ſubſiſt in a Body by themſelves, without any Mixture with the Natives, and to retain Uniformly, not only the *old Engliſh Garb* and Dreſs, but alſo the *old Engliſh Language*, as it was ſpoken at the Time of their Emigration, down to the Time of *James* the Firſt. Which Marks of Kindred and antient Deſcent however, were then ſo little noticed, or recorded, by the Generality of this Nation, that when a young *Engliſh* Gentleman, a profound Boy-Senator, I ſuppoſe, or deep-read Fox-hunter, was ſent thither by Commiſſion among them, he ſaid ignorantly, that he ſhould quickly un-

the KINGS of ENGLAND for many Ages before him. *Roſus Warwicenſis*, Manuſcript affirms, 'That *England*'s King is 'not to rely on the Pope's Grant, becauſe he had Claim to 'the Kingdom by hereditary Right."

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derſtand the *Iriſh*, whereas, ſays *Cambden*, they ſpake * *Engliſh*.

Now if People thus far ſorget their Friends, as to comprehend them under a *foreign* Name, which will always introduce the Idea of a *foreign* Nation: It is no Wonder if the People thus alienated forget them in their Turns, and through Time and Error, being liſted under *another* Name, conſider themſelves as *another* Race of Men.

THEN, what muſt be the Conſequence of this? But that this tranſplanted Family taking up a new national Name, and, which is inſeparable from that, a new national Intereſt, ſhall oppoſe each of theſe to thoſe of their Progenitors, and ſtand in the Place, and under the Banners of thoſe wild People, that their Fathers conquered. This is no chimerical Conſequence. The preſent State of Things in *Ireland* demonſtrates it to the *ſhalloweſt* Politicians to be a ſolid Truth. Since the Flower of our *Engliſh* Blood in that *Kingdom*, and as I am told, many of the true *Revolution* Families, under the Notion of being *Iriſhmen*, are uniting againſt *England*. Of ſuch Importance is the aboliſhing of the *Engliſh* Name in *Ireland*.

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ple from the *North* of *Ireland*. Their Settlement in *Great Britain* was in the *weſtern* Highlands, and the adjoining Iſlands: This is the proper SCOTLAND. The *Caledodian* WELSH then occupying the middle Parts extended North and South: While the *Picts*, a *German* Nation ſo called (not from their painted Bodies, but) from a Word of their own Language **ſichten**, to fight, poſſeſſed all the *eaſtern* Coaſt, including even the *Orkneys*. The *Caledonian* WELSH being maſtered by the *Picts*, the latter became very powerful, till the ſouthern *Britons* called in the *Engliſh* from lower *Saxony* to repulſe them. The *Picts* being weakened by the Conqueſts and Settlements of the *Engliſh*, it gave an Opportunity to the *Scots*, to attack them from the Weſt. The *Picts* during theſe long Wars, finding the *Scots* aimed at their Extirpation, petitioned Aſſiſtance from *Oſbert* and *Ella*, two *Engliſh Kings*; promiſing, that they and all their Poſterity would be their Subjects for ever, if they would deliver them from the Tyranny of the SCOTS.

THE *Engliſh* Succours were granted, the *Scots* were beaten, and forced to yield to the *Engliſh* without Reſerve, all the Territory to the South of the *Roman* Fortification between the *Frith* of *Forth* and the River *Clyde*, and they took Poſſeſſion of it accord-

accordingly leaving the *Welſhmen*, about *Dunbriton*, to poſſeſs the Reſt*.

So that beſides the firſt Settlement of the *Engliſh* during the Conqueſts of their *Saxon* Leaders *Octha*, and *Abyſſa*, in the Time of *Hengiſt*; here was a vaſt Tract of Land, the Heart and Prime of *Old Pictland*, though it be now vulgarly called *Scotland*, ceded to them for ever, This Event happening about the Year 858, paved the Way at the *Norman* Uſurpation for a third and numerous Introduction of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Poſterity at this Day make many of the wealthieſt Families in this *pretended* Part of *Scotland*†. For our *northern* Countries, as well

* Duræ conditiones propoſitæ, quas tamen præſens rerum ſtatus tolerabiles faciebat, videri: ut limites eſſent, infra Sterlinum Fortha, infra Brittannodunum Glotta, inter duos amnes vallum Seueri. In tam dura pace, Scotis non minus lætum, quam inopinatum accidit, quod nulla mentio de reducendis Pictis facta eſſet. Angli enim & Brittones agros relictos inter ſe partiti ſunt, Glotta eos dirimente. *Buchanan, pag.* 175.

† Gulielmus, tum in Anglia rerum potitus, leuiſſimis de cauſſis, in omnes Anglici ac Danici generis nobiles ſæuiebat. Certior autem factus, quæ in Scotia gererentur, ac veritus, ne noua aliqua tempeſtas illinc oriretur, Fœcialem mittit, qui Edgarum depoſceret, ac, ni dederetur, bellum indiceret. Milcolumbus crudele & nefarium ratus, ſupplicem, hoſpitem, affinem, hominem denique, cui ne inimici quidem vllum crimen obijcere poſſent, ad ſupplicium dedere hoſti immaniſſimo, quiduis potius pati, decreuit. Itaque Edgarum non modo retinuit, ſed & amicos eius, maximo numero domo profugos, recepit prædijſque donauit: quorum poſteri, in multas atque opulentas familias, propagati ſunt,

well as others were then ſo diſguſted with ſome of their Brethren in the *South*, and the

ſunt. Bello inter Scotos & Anglos, ob has cauſſas orto, Sibardus, Northumbriæ regulus, Edgaro fauens, copias cum Scotis coniunxit. *Buchan. Lit. 7. p.* 218.

In Support of what I urged before, p. 138. that the Scots daily comprehend under their Name, Numbers of true and *genuine* English; I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome *Engliſh* or *Saxon* Family Names, which if found in the *North*, might with as much Truth and Modeſty be called *Turkiſh*, as they are called *Scotch*.

Names in *Thwait* as; Sater-*thwait*, Mickle-*thwait*, Poſtle-*thwait*.

Land as; *Mur-land*, or *Mor-land*, *Mait-land*, *Le-land*.

Ford and it's Compounds as, *Ford-on*, *Ford-ict*, *Crow-ford*, &c.

Dale corruptly *Dell*, as *Moſ-dale*, *Teſ-dale*.

Stane as, *Courſt-ane*, *Horſt-ane*, *Beſt-ane*.

Ston for *Stane*, *Elphingſt-on*, *Baſt-on*, *Oſbaldeſton*, contracted *Diſton*.

Ley as, *Leſ-ley*, *Horſe-ley*, *Berkley*.

Win as, *Ga-win*, *Alwin*, corruptly *Allin*, *Allen*, *Allan*.

Town, taken from *Engliſh* Names of Towns, as *Wig-town*, *Sea-town*, *Preſ-town*, *Hop-town*.

Well, as *Blackwell*, &c.

Houſe, and its Variations, as *Houſie*, i. e. *Huſſey*, *Dale-Houſie*.

Son, as *Banſon*, *Patterſon*, for *Benſon*, *Peterſon*.

Sen for *Son*, as *William-ſen*, *Jan-ſen*, for *William-ſon*, *John-ſon*.

Dun, and it's Compounds, as *Dun-barton*, *Dun-combe*, *Snow-dun*.

Ruther, as *Anſt-ruther*, *Car-ruther*.

Man, as *Leech* or *Leech-man*, *Ruddy-man*.

Names uncompounded as,

Steward, written corruptly, or affectedly, *Stewart* and *Stuart*, &c.

Ruſſel,

the ſcandalous Submiſſion of the *Londoners* upon the Loſs of only one Battle, that deteſting like the Men of *Kent*, the *Norman* Ruler, they choſe rather to be ſubject to *Malcolm Kenmaur*, King of *Scotland*, where the Government now reſembled the *old* ENGLISH Plan; where the Prince himſelf had been formed by an *Engliſh* Education, and had moreover married that *Engliſh* Princeſs, from whom all the Kings of *Scotland* ſince, and all the *Engliſh* Kings from the Reſtoration of the *Saxon* Line, as well as thoſe of the *united* Kingdom, have dated their Claim and Original.

IT appears very plain from this ſhort Hiſtory, that of the People *reputed* to be *Scots* the greateſt Part are *Engliſh*; that the real *Scots* are very few, and that their Share of *reputed* SCOTLAND is really very *ſmall*: Suppoſing then theſe People to be at any Time *Enemies* to our *King* and

Ruſſel,
Brown,
Wright,
Taylor,
Baker, *Bakeſter*, contracted *Baxter*. And many others.

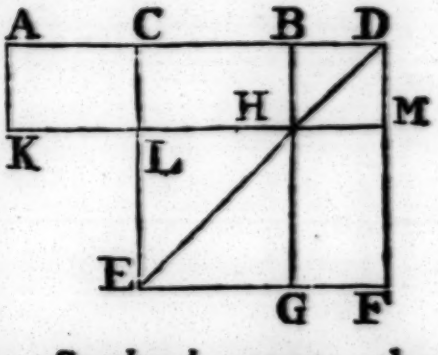
Engliſh NAMES practiſed upon, but not quite loſt, as; *Swale*, from *Yorkſhire*, *Mac-ſwale*, *Moxwal*, *Maxwel*.

The ſame Tricks have been played with the *Welſhmen*, who happen to reſide about *Dun-barton* and *Galloway*. They, as well as the *Engliſh*, have been invited in with a *Mac*;— as *Cowel* from *Mac-howel*, *Mac-duel* from *Duel*; *Mac-Swinny*. I do not know whether they have yet put a *Mac* before *Dinwyddy*.

Country

Country; if the NAME were limited to the *real* SCOTS their Number being inſignificant the Effects of their *Enmity* would be of no *Conſideration* at all: But if you comprehend under *their Name* three Times the Number of *another* People, and give to *their Intereſt* three Times the *Bigneſs* of *Territory*: You augment the *Strength* and *Figure* of this People to a Degree which may be dangerous; and this Augmentation will be the more ſo to ENGLAND, by being at the ſame Time a *Diminution* of ENGLAND, and a Complication of the baſeſt Falſification of Hiſtory as well as of the baſeſt Policy.

THE Detriment ariſing from ſuch Steps as theſe to the *Engliſh* Name, that is, its *Power* and *Intereſt*, may be evidently and particularly demonſtrated in the Manner following.



OBSERVE the mathematical Figure in the Margin, wherein let the Square LEGH repreſent *England*, the Square BHM D the *Highlands*, or *Scotland* proper, the Complement HGFM the *Lowlands*, or *nominal Scotland*, where the Inhabitants bear *Engliſh* Names, and ſpeak the *Engliſh* Tongue. If when BHMD, or real *Scotland*, for the Sake of a foreign Intereſt, is at War

War with LEGH or *England*; you ſuffer the Inhabitants of HGFM who bear *Engliſh* Names, and ſpeak the *Engliſh* Tongue, through Ignorance to call themſelves *Scotchmen*, and follow the Banners, and fall into the Ranks with *diſaffected Highlanders*, you add more than two Thirds to the Strength and Extent of an Enemy's Country, and ſwell BHMD by the Addition of the Complement HGFM to a Content formidable to LEGH, or *England:* Whereas if the Complement were transferred to that, it would be greatly augmented, and BHMD or *Scotland* left quite inconſiderable. So again, with reſpect to *Ireland*, let the Rectangle AKLC repreſent the Strength of the *proper*, or *popiſh* IRISH and CLHB the Strength of the ENGLISH in *Ireland*; if in the Caſe of a Rebellion, or national Commotion you comprehend theſe laſt under an *Iriſh* Name, you do all you can to connect them with the Enemy's Cauſe, and detach this large Complement of her genuine and martial Sons from the naked Side of LEGH, or *England*.

AFTER this Enquiry therefore, we may determine in the affirmative, that the *Diſuſe* of the *Name* of *England*; and likewiſe that of *Engliſhman* among thoſe, who are of *Engliſh* Extraction hath ſenſibly hurt, and diminiſhed the *Strength*, *Influence*, and *Extent* of our *native* Country.

TILL

TILL ſome *publick* Expedient therefore be *authoriſed*, we ought certainly to correct this Error in our own *Converſation*; and treat with all imaginable Civility, and direct Acknowledgment, any of our *Countrymen* from *Scotland* or *Ireland*, or any other Part of this Empire, who from the Remembrance of their *antient* ORIGINAL, ſhall call themſelves the Sons of our *venerable* Parent *Old* ENGLAND. For if the NAME thereof ſhould dwindle, and diminiſh *at home*, how ſhould it be known, or reſpected *abroad?* A Circumſtance, which at this Time, when a *foreign* WAR is impending, ſurely deſerves ſome Conſideration. For what Nation can be reſpectable whoſe Name is not known? and how can a *Name* be *known*, which is not to be *found*, even in *the Country*, to which it once belonged? Will not *Foreigners* conclude from the *Extinction* of their Name, that this *Race* of People *exiſt no more?* Suppoſe, during the War, which ſeems now impending, a *French* Officer, on the Day of Battle, ſhould harangue his ragged *Fantaſſins* in this Manner.

" * GENTLEMEN, pray advance, and be " not daunted: Theſe are not as you " ima-

* This whole Speech is intended as a Satire to ſhew the Ignorance of the *Engliſh* in Matters of the higheſt Importance to themſelves, and the Advantage their Enemies are apt

" imagine, the Troops of *England*; they
" were called ſo under the *Duke* of
" MARLBOROUGH; but in the laſt War,
" notwithſtanding the BRAVERY of their
" GENERAL, they retained neither the
" ſame *Name* nor the ſame *Fortune*; which
" ought to be a Proof to you, that they
" are no longer the *ſame People*. What
" you ſee there upon their Standards is not
" the *white Horſe* of HENGIST, but of
" HANOVER; and all the *Britiſh* Rebels
" in our Service aſſure us, that their People
" at home do not conſider the *Hanoverians*
" as the OLD *Engliſh*. Through the great
" Vigilance and Knowledge of their Mini-
" ſters of State, I am informed, that the
" riſing Generation of their Youth in the
" *Univerſities* are taught this very *Kind* of
" HISTORY. The public *News Papers* †
" ſhew

apt to take of this their Ignorance to delude and draw them to their Purpoſe. As it is the Misfortune of Ignorance to imagine Things to be the very reverſe of what they are, therefore this *Frenchman*, in Ridicule of the *Engliſh*, makes a Diſtinction between the white Horſe of *Hengiſt* and that of *Hanover*, though it is well known in Hiſtory that his Majeſty is deſcended from that Prince, and bears the ſame Enſigns armorial, which to this Day make the Arms of *Kent* the firſt *Engliſh* Kingdom.

† When our NAME is thus annihilated at home, it is no wonder if it be never applied to our *Colonies* abroad. *New England* indeed ſtill acknowledges ſome *Kin* to us, and may preſerve our *Name*, when *Old England* ſhall no more. What Foreigner that ſhould read the following Paragraph from the *London Evening Poſt*, *Saturday*, *March* 29, 1755, would

" ſhew that the *Learned* themſelves are of " this Opinion. For in eſtabliſhing a na- " tional

would think by the wording of it, that *Penſylvania* had ever been a *Colony* founded by the *Engliſh*, when the Name of the *Mother Country* is ſo induſtriouſly concealed.

" It is clear that whatever Remedies are to be applied " for the Recovery of the *Britiſh* Power, the Preſervation " of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, the maintaining the *Britiſh* " Language in this *Britiſh* Colony, muſt proceed from " *Great Britain*, &c.

Now ſuppoſe we ſhould inſert *Engliſh* all the Way inſtead of *Britiſh*, and read the Paragraph thus,

" It is clear that whatever Remedies are to be applied " for the Recovery of the *Engliſh* Power, the Preſervation " of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, the maintaining the *Engliſh* " Language in this *Engliſh* Colony, muſt proceed from *Old* " *England*, &c."

Would not this ſound very well, and be agreeable to Truth? For in the firſt Place; *Britiſh Conſtitution of Government* there is none in the World; nor has there been for more than a *thouſand* Years, we know very little what it was, the few Traces of it, which remain in *Hiſtory*, prove it to have been the worſt in the World, ſince it was more owing to their *barbarous Form of Government*, than their want of Valour that the *Britons* were ſo miſerably harraſſed by the *Romans*, and at length quite *exhauſted* and *enſlaved* (as I have ſhewn in my Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Tongue.) As for our *own Conſtitution* it's Fundamentals are all *Engliſh*, and grounded upon the old *Saxon* Plan: And ſuch it is in all theſe three Kingdoms, and all our well-regulated Colonies.

And with regard to our Language it is likewiſe *Engliſh*. I think, in this Country, every Body knows, as yet, that the *Britiſh* is the *Welſh*, a very fine Language in my Opinion, but I believe our *Quakers* in *Penſylvania* would hardly learn it; and if they did; perhaps we ſhould then underſtand leſs of their real Sentiments than we do at preſent.

The Zeal of this Paragraph therefore, though in ſome Reſpect commendable, as it regards the ill Conduct of the Colony; yet is not according to the Knowledge. If it came

" tional *Shew-Room*, for *Curioſities* and *An-*
" *tiquities*, they procured of the *Mayor* and
" *Aldermen* of the Place, an *authentick* Inſtru-
" ment, calling it the *Britiſh* MUSÆUM.
" Now I am told, that the Place, where
" this Houſe ſtands, is contiguous to LON-
" DON; and if LONDON be not in *England*,
" I ſuppoſe, that *England* is no more. I
" have been the more particular upon this
" Argument, *Gentlemen*, to take away from
" you the Fear of the ENGLISH: For if
" theſe People which you ſee in Arms be
" not *Engliſh:* You have no Occaſion to
" fear them. You never heard of a *Britiſh*
" KING that led an Army abroad. There
" is no ſuch Thing in Hiſtory. The *Britons*
" are always content with *their own Do-*
" *minions at home*, till they can *keep them no*
" *longer*; a little like the preſent *Dutch*, they
" never regard, how the *Game* goes forward
" in *Europe*, till you ſurprize them all at
" once, by giving them *Check-mate*. The
" enterprizing Geniuſes from that *Iſland*,
" which terrified foreign Countries were
" all of them *Engliſh* Kings. Such was the
" Man they called *Richard Lion-heart*,

came from the Author of the *London Evening Poſt*, and that Author be an *Engliſh* Gentleman, it is to be hoped he will guard againſt ſuch Inaccuracies for the future, which may be conſtrued either into an ill Deſign of eclipſing *England*, or want of Knowledge in the Hiſtory of our Conſtitution and native Country.

" King

" King of *Cyprus* and General in *Syria* and
" *Paleſtine*: Such were the *Edwards* and
" the *Henries*, who were ſo troubleſome
" to us in *France*. It is true, Captain
" *Fluellin* fought very valiantly for *Henry*
" the Fifth, becauſe his Majeſty was an ho-
" neſt and brave Man, and *our* Countryman!
" and King *Cot pleſs him*. This was their Story
" in former Ages. But now, that the
" *Engliſh* are ſo far loſt, and gone, that even
" their very Name is extinguiſhed, you
" are to look upon the Army before you,
" *as Sheep without their Shepherd*, and have
" nothing elſe to do, but to fall on, diſperſe
" them, and cut their Throats.

A SPEECH of this Sort from a *Frenchman*, I don't doubt but you will think an horrid Banter upon our *Nation*, but why do we give Occaſion for ſuch an Inſult? If the *Extinction* of our NAME be of this *Importance* to them, how much are our *Glory* and *Intereſt* concerned to recover it? You will ſay perhaps, how is this to be effected? By conforming chiefly to theſe *two* ſhort *Precepts*, *uſe* it every where, and *ſupport* it every where.

CONCERNING the *Uſe* of our Name I have given my Opinion already, and for the *Support* of it; you will pardon me, conſidering, that I am an *Anti-gallican*, an *Engliſh* FREEHOLDER, and therefore one of thoſe, whom the People of your—— call your

your *Conſtituents*; if I dwell a while upon the *Face* of the *Times*, and being ſtruck with the *Appearance*, ſay ſomething a little particular.

WITH Regard then to the *Support* of our national *Name* againſt a *foreign* Adverſary, we are to conſider, who of all the Foreigners have injured it moſt, or are moſt likely to injure it. This Conſideration may whet your Reſentment.

I KNOW the Milkineſs and Compoſure in *Engliſh* Blood is apt to incline them to ſleep over Injuries. Shall I ſpeak aloud as I did before old Admiral *V**n*; when he ſat as our GRAND *Preſident*, and I had the Honour to preach the *Antigallican* Sermon, wherein *two Years ago*, expecting ſome ſuch event Events, as have now happened, I thus alarmed my COUNTRY:

" Awake therefore thou that ſleepeſt, "
" (and as the *Iſraelites* were inſtructed of
" old, for thy Condition is too much the
" ſame) *bind theſe Inſtructions as Frontlets*
" *between thine Eyes, teach them diligently*
" *to thy Children, talk of them when thou ſitteſt*
" *in thine Houſe, when thou walkeſt by the*
" *Way, when thou lieſt down, and when thou*
" *riſeſt up*: Deut. —— that Poſterity may
" never forget, how this once warlike, free,
" and noble Nation were by the Artifices
" of a People from *France*, and by *French*
" Politicks prevailing *at Home*, reduced for

" a Time to a State of *Egyptian* Slavery.

" I MEAN, that heavy and disgraceful " *Æra* of the pretended *Norman* Conquest, " when through many a *Shire* of this ample " Realm (for *some* indeed were better spirited " than to submit to the general Ignominy " of their Country) the antient * *Thanes*, " and *Ethelings*, the gentle Possessors of " Lands and Districts, though just returned " from the unavailing Defence of a People " *divided* and *unsettled*, and sitting down to " Refreshment amidst the surrounding " Troops of their *Tenants* and FELLOW-" SOLDIERS, were bid to rise, and leave " their *Patrimony* to some Free-booter of " the *Norman*'s borrowed Army.

" THESE *English* indeed were *Exiles*, " but noble and at *large*, whilst the *com-*" *mon People*, losing their *old* Masters, and " with them the *Saxon* Laws and Liber-" ties, underwent a much more ignomi-" nious Fate. *French* Shackles, or *French* " Injunctions, as intolerable as those *Shackles*, " were for them provided; and lest the " very *Infants* should suck in *English* Liber-" ty with the Mother's Milk, they were " torn from the Breast, or Embrace of the " Parent, to be driven to *the School of Sla-*

*This *English* Title of Honour remained amongst the *Old English* in *Scotland* after it was lost in *England*. *Buchanan* mentions it as subsisting in his Time: *Paucis in Locis vetus* Thani *Nomen adhuc manet*, Buchanan, lib. vii. p. 220.

" very

" *very*, to learn a *ſtrange* Language in their
" *own* Land. Their Progenitors ſaw with
" Grief and Shame the Fate of theſe little
" *Hoſtages*, though unable to recall them,
" ſince they were no better than Slaves
" themſelves in their own Houſes, obliged
" like *Criminals*, at the Sound of a † *Bell*,
" to retire to their *Cell* or *Priſon*.

" If any one ſhould aſk how theſe
" Things were effected, though manifeſt-
" ly brought about by *French Intrigues*
" and *Policy*, we are told by People in
" that *Intereſt*, that it was by *Conqueſt*.
" Conqueſt! my *Countrymen*. What! the
" Fate of this Kingdom determined only
" by one *hazardous* long-diſputed Bat-
" tle? The Inhabitants of a Spot of
" Ground in this Neighbourhood never
" called it a *Conqueſt*. A * ſingle *County*
" of *England* withſtood this *pretended*
" Conqueror, regained their antient *Saxon*
" Laws and Cuſtoms, and retain them
" to the preſent Age. The *Engliſh* of
" the * *North* either oppoſed, or deſpiſed
" him, and out of Indignation to the new
" Maſter, as well as Contempt of what
" was once their *Country*, went off in Num-
" bers to a Neighbouring * Prince, who

† The *Coverfeu*, commonly called the *Eight of Clock* Bell.
* *Malcolm Kenmaur*. The Note in the former Edition, relating to his Majeſty's ancient Pedegree may be ſeen P. 111, of the Antigallican Sermon.

" had married a Siſter of the *Engliſh* Fa-
" mily; and though they carried with
" them our *Names*, and Blood, and Lan-
" guage, yet through Reſentment they
" diſowned all Affinity, till the *Union* of
" the two *Kingdoms* brought them once
" again under the Denomination of Fellow-
" Subjects.

" I AM well aware, that thoſe of the
" *French* Faction may reply, that theſe are
" Matters *out of Date*, and ſcarce regard-
" ed even by the *Engliſh*.

" BUT they are not ſo much out of Date
" as People imagine. Does not the *Curfeu*
" ſtill reſound in our Villages? Do not
" our very *Kalendars*, excepting † one,
" which ſome *Antigallican* Hand hath re-
" formed, by replacing the glorious Race
" of the *Engliſh* Kings, begin (O! unpar-
" ralleled Abſurdity!) the *regal* Table, with
" the very *Æra* which extinguiſhed for a
" Time the Honour of our Kings, and be-
" gan their *People*'s Miſery. But beſide
" theſe *external* Marks of Diſgrace, there
" may remain *internal* and SHARP Remem-
" brancers of a *latent* Malady. The Wound
" received at the *Norman-French* Invaſion
" was like that of an *envenomed* Dart, it con-
" veyed a Poiſon which may long be lurk-
" ing in the Veins of our Mother-Country.
" Our *Conſtitution* hath never recovered it-

† The *Stationers* Almanack, with an hiſtorical Print.

ſelf

" ſelf ſo far, as to retain, for *any Time*, the
" healthy State of an *equal* Mixture. And
" that ſuch Things as theſe are not re-
" garded by the preſent Age, is ſo far from
" making paſt Tranſactions of no Impor-
" tance, that this *Lethargy* of the People,
" with reſpect to thoſe Tranſactions, is the
" very Thing, that we lament, ſince, *what*
" *has been, may be*; I mean from the ſame
" *Deluſion* on the one Part, and *Want*
" *of Diſcernment* on the other, may ariſe
" once and again the ſame Conſequences.

" FOR in Caſe of a new *French* Invaſion,
" for want of taking Example from the
" ſimilar Misfortunes of their Foreſathers,
" I aſk, would not the ſame bad Part be
" acted more extenſively in theſe Iſlands?
" Would not the *French* Faction, as at the
" Death of *Harold*, after a *mock* Battle or
" *two*, be inclined to embrace the *Invader*
" and ſuch *Terms*, as he brought with him;
" and would not the *Antigallican* Party
" immediately ſeparate from ſuch *Wretches*
" as theſe? And thus, as at the *Norman*
" Period, by *Seduction* on the one Side, and
" through *Reſentment* on the other, *France*
" would have it in its Power to *divide*, and
" conſequently to *baffle* the Strength of the
" *Britiſh* EMPIRE, and lead *three* KING-
" DOMS captive at it's Pleaſure.

THAT *Time* of *Danger* ſeems to be at Hand, The Proceedings of this Enemy in

in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and their uncommon Preparations at Home leave no Room to doubt, but that they are meditating ſome uncommon Miſchief againſt *England*, which Deſign will hardly be laid aſide, till they have found an Opportunity to attempt its Execution. If we act ſupinely at this *Criſis*, we muſt be content to part with our *good Name* for ever. We ſhall be aſhamed to look one another in the Face at Home, and become a By-word among our Neighbours abroad. The Manner, in which the *Nation* in *general* have received the *Alarm*, to be ſure, hath been as much to our *Credit*; as any *Abatement* of Courage and Activity would be now to our Diſgrace. How well has his *Majeſty*'s wiſe and timely *royal Bounty* been ſeconded by *the Trading* * *Corporations* from *North* to *South*? Shall theſe generous Merchants have the Mortification to ſee their Endeavours thrown away, and the Courage, their Generoſity had inſpired in others, languiſh and dwindle into Carleſſneſs and Puſilianimity. The *Spirit* of a brave Nation ſo *nobly* and ſo *thoroughly roufed* is not to be baulked and deluded. Such *Damps* are *Dangerous*; and not eaſily *recoverable*. Delay may give our Ene-

* Liverpool, Whitehaven, Edinborough, Queen's-Ferry, Burnt-Iſland, Aberdeen, &c.

mies

mies Time to gather Strength; but it can produce nothing on our Side but Negligence, Decreaſe or Weakneſs. We muſt ſtrike *now*, or, ſuffering their Deluſions to take Effect, we may never be able to *ſtrike again*: they have Nothing in View by Procraſtinating, but to lay their ſeveral *Trains* more *effectually*, that the *Conflagration* may be *univerſal*, and the *Blow* more deciſive. Leſt this ſhould happen, therefore, let us, *humble ourſelves before God*, and bid *Defiance to Man*. Hoſtilities being begun on their Part: Ours is a Caſe of ‡ *Self-Defence*, and juſtifiable by the Laws of *God* and *Nature*.

WERE we *Antigallicans* permitted to ſpeak our Sentiments, you would find us not inclined to liſten to Peace, except upon the following *Preliminaries*. "That all and "ſingular the *French* Forces, which within "a certain Period have ſtolen away from "*Europe*, for the Diſturbance of our *Colo-*"*nies* and *Settlements* in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-*"*Indies* ſhould be immediately recalled, "and convoyed back to *France* by our "Royal Fleets.

"FOR as to the *French* Ships of War, "they ſhould at the ſame Time be li-

‡ See the Author's Sermon on the *Lawfulneſs* of reſiſting Injuries, preached before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, when the *Rebels* were advancing from *Scotland* to *Derby*, 1745.

" mited not only to a *particular* Number,
" but a *particular Service*, at the *Diſcre-*
" *tion* of *England:* And that theſe their
" *Engagements* might be *directly* and *ſtrictly*
" fulfilled, they ſhould ſend over for an
" *Hoſtage*—the *Duke* of *Burgundy*."

THUS, SIR, I have given you an IDEA of its *Importance*; and at the ſame Time the Methods, by which we may ſupport the NAME of ENGLAND.

Camberwell, April 3,
1755.

CHARTA Regis EDGARI.

ALtitonantis Dei largiflua clementia qui eſt rex regum et dominus dominantium, Ego *Edgarus* Anglorum baſileus omniumque rerum, inſularum oceani, quæ *Britanniam* circumjacent, cunctarumque nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, *Imperator* et *Dominus* gratias ago ipſi deo omnipotenti regi meo, qui meum imperium ſic ampliavit, et exaltavit ſuper regnum patrum meorum. Qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt a tempore *Athelſtani*, qui primus regum Anglorum omnes nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt armis ſubegit, nullus tamen eorum ultra fines imperium ſuum dilatare adgreſſus eſt: mihi tamen

tamen conceſſit propitia Divinitas cum Anglorum imperio, omnia regna inſularum oceani cum ſuis ferociſſimis rigibus uſque Norwegiam, maximamque partem Hiberniæ cum ſua nobiliſſima civitate de *Dublina* Anglorum regno ſubjugare: Quos omnes meis imperiis colla ſubdare dei favente gratia coegi. Quapropter et ego Chriſti gloriam et laudem in regno meo exaltare, et ejus ſervitium amplificare devotus: et per meos fideles fautores *Dunſtanum*, viz. Archiepiſcopum, *Ayelyolanum* ac *Oſwaldum* Archiepiſcopos, quos mihi patres ſpirituales, et conſiliatores elegi, magna ex parte diſpoſui &c. Facta ſunt hæc anno Dom. 964. Indictone 8. Regni vero *Edgari* Anglorum regis 6. in regia urbe quæ ab incolis *Ocleocaſtriæ*, nominatur in natali domini feſtivitate ſanctor. Innocentium feria 4. ✠ Ego *Edgar* baſileus Anglorum et *Imperator* regum gentium, cum conſenſu *Principum*, et Archimeorum meorum hanc meam munificentiam ſigno crucis corroboro, ✠ Ego *Alfriie* regina conſenſi et confirmavi. Ego *Dunſtanus* archiepiſcopus Dorabor. eccleſiæ Chriſti conſenſi et ſubſcripſi. ✠ Ego *Oſticel* Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ conſenſi et ſubſcripſi. Ego *Aridgari* dux. ✠

The

" mited not only to a *particular* Number,
" but a *particular Service*, at the *Diſcre-*
" *tion* of *England:* And that theſe their
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Camberwell, April 3,
1755.

CHARTA Regis EDGARI.

ALtitonantis Dei largiflua clementia qui eſt rex regum et dominus dominantium, Ego *Edgarus* Anglorum baſileus omniumque rerum, inſularum oceani, quæ *Britanniam* circumjacent, cunctarumque nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, *Imperator* et *Dominus* gratias ago ipſi deo omnipotenti regi meo, qui meum imperium ſic ampliavit, et exaltavit ſuper regnum patrum meorum. Qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt a tempore *Athelſtani*, qui primus regum Anglorum omnes nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt armis ſubegit, nullus tamen eorum ultra fines imperium ſuum dilatare adgreſſus eſt: mihi tamen

tamen conceſſit propitia Divinitas cum Anglorum imperio, omnia regna inſularum oceani cum ſuis ferociſſimis rigibus uſque Norwegiam, maximamque partem Hiberniæ cum ſua nobiliſſima civitate de *Dublina* Anglorum regno ſubjugare: Quos omnes meis imperiis colla ſubdare dei favente gratia coegi. Quapropter et ego Chriſti gloriam et laudem in regno meo exaltare, et ejus ſervitium amplificare devotus: et per meos fideles fautores *Dunſtanum*, viz. Archiepiſcopum, *Ayelyolanum* ac *Oſwaldum* Archiepiſcopos, quos mihi patres ſpirituales, et conſiliatores elegi, magna ex parte diſpoſui &c. Facta ſunt hæc anno Dom. 964. Indictone 8. Regni vero *Edgari* Anglorum regis 6. in regia urbe quæ ab incolis *Ocleocaſtriæ*, nominatur in natali domini feſtivitate ſanctor. Innocentium feria 4. ✠ Ego *Edgar* baſileus Anglorum et *Imperator* regum gentium, cum conſenſu *Principum*, et Archimeorum meorum hanc meam munificentiam ſigno crucis corroboro, ✠ Ego *Alfriie* regina conſenſi et confirmavi. Ego *Dunſtanus* archiepiſcopus Dorabor. eccleſiæ Chriſti conſenſi et ſubſcripſi. ✠ Ego *Oſticel* Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ conſenſi et ſubſcripſi. Ego *Aridgari* dux. ✠

The CHARTER *of King* EDGAR, *preſerved in the* PREFACE *to* COKE's REPORTS, P. 4.

BY the abundant Mercy of the High-thundering God, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, I *Edgar*, King of the *Engliſh* and of all Things pertaining unto the Iſlands of the Ocean, which lie round *Britain*; and of all the Nations which are included under it, EMPEROR and LORD. I give Thanks unto God himſelf my all-powerful King, who hath thus enlarged my Empire, and exalted it above the Kingdom of my Father's, who though they poſſeſſed the *Monarchy* of *All England*, from the Time of *Athelſtan*, who firſt of all the *Engliſh* Kings, ſubdued by Arms, all the Nations which inhabit *Britain*, yet none of them attempted to enlarge their Empire beyond their Borders; but the propitious Deity hath granted to me, with the *Empire* of the *Engliſh*, *all* the *Kingdoms* of the *Iſlands* of the Ocean, with their fierceſt Kings, as far as *Norway*; and moreover to ſubject to the Kingdom of the *Engliſh*, the greateſt Part of *Ireland*, with its noble City of *Dublin*. All which People, the Grace of God favouring me, I have compelled to bow

bow their Necks to my Commands. Wherefore, I being religiouſly determined to exalt the Glory of Chriſt and his Praiſe in my Kingdom, have granted, &c. And by my faithful Favourers, (he means Favourites) *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop, *Ayelyolan*, (perhaps *Allan)* and *Oſwald* Archbiſhops, whom I have choſen for my ſpiritual Fathers and Counſellors, have for the moſt Part granted, &c.——(here followed the Grant of the Lands, which in this Copy are omitted.) Theſe Inſtruments were executed in the Year of our Lord 964. * the 8th Indiction, and of the Reign of *Edgar*, King of the *Engliſh*, the 6th in the Royal City, which is called † *Ocleaceſter* by the Inhabitants, at the Feſtival of the Nativity of our Lord, on the 4 Holyday, of the holy Innocents, &c. ✠ I EDGAR, King of the *Engliſh*, and EMPEROR of the Kings of theſe *Nations*, with the Conſent of my Princes and Great Men, do confirm this my Munificence with the Sign of the ✠. I *Alfriie*, Queen, have con-

* This ſhould be the 8th of the *Indiction*, which was a *Cycle* of 15 Years: The *Latin* Copy ſhould be read *Indictionis*.

† The Lands granted being left out of this *Copy* of the CHARTER, it is uncertain *where* they lay, but if it was ſigned in *England*, this *Ocleaceſter* is moſt likely to be *Glouceſter*, which is written *Gleaw-ceſter* in the *Saxon* Chronicle, and was often the *Royal* Reſidence of our *antient* Kings.

ſented

ſented and confirmed with the Sign of the ✠. I DUNSTAN, *Archbiſhop* of the Church of Chriſt at CANTERBURY have conſented and ſubſcribed ✠. I OSTICEL, *Archbiſhop* of the Church of YORK, have conſented and ſubſcribed ✠. I *Alferic*, Duke. I *Bruthnod*, Duke. I *Aridgar*, Duke.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT

In Reply to the ignorant *Exceptions* and *Abuſes* of a Set of HACKNEY-WRITERS, once known by the Name of *The Monthly Reviewers*, contained in their Pamphlet for *Auguſt* 1755.

Thoſe who have the Curioſity to ſee what Lengths of Scurrility an anonymous *Writer may take the Liberty to run, are referred to the Pamphlet itſelf.*

Their own Words in the *Review* for *Auguſt* 1755, Page 151.

Δι. Βρεκεκεκέξ, κοάξ, κοάξ.——
Αλλ' ὦ φιλῳδὸν γένος πάυσασθε.
Χο. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν φθεξόμεθ'——
Δι. Τέτῳ γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε——
Χο. Ουδὲ μὴν ὑμᾶς σὺ πάντως.
Δι. Ουδὲ μὴν ὑμεῖς γε δή με——
Ουδ' ἐποῖε, κεκράξομαι γὰρ
Εως ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπερπατήσω τῷ κοάξ.

See the Chorus of Frogs *in Ariſtophanes.*

THE foregoing Treatiſe in the firſt Edition, which appeared upon the Commencement of Hoſtilities in *America*, on the Part of the *French*, was with a View to ſerve ſome *good Purpoſes*, augmented

mented with a large *Extract*, and ſome *hiſtorical* Notes from the *Antigallican* Sermon, which Sermon was then out of Print: But as it is now reprinted in this Collection, and the Reader may ſee the Matters referred to in their original and proper Places, thoſe Quotations are ſomewhat ſhortened here.

For the Reſt of the Piece the Author does not ſee any Reaſon, as yet, to make any material Alteration. For as it was deſigned to promote a ſtricter Union among his Majeſty's Subjects, by grounding it, not as it ſtands at preſent, upon *fabulous* and *narrow*, but *true* and *extenſive* Principles, he is fully perſuaded the more his Principles are conſidered, and underſtood, by rational, and unprejudiced People, the more his Scheme will be applauded.

It had the Misfortune indeed, if that be a Misfortune, to give Offence to ſome of the Members of a *motley* Society called the *Monthly Reviewers*, who yet, as far as it can be gathered from their own Accounts, had in all Probability never read it. However the Title of the Pamphlet being mentioned in their Review (for *May* 1755) in a Manner, which diſcovered, as moſt People thought, a great Degree of their Reſentment and their Inſolence; a Gentleman of the *laudable* Order of the *Antigallicans* thought it might be for the general Good

of

of the learned World, to teach theſe Scribblers a little better to know themſelves, and their proper Diſtance: And therefore he chaſtiſed them in a Pamphlet called *The Monthly Reviewers reviewed*, wherein, as he tells us in the Preface, he found himſelf obliged for the preſent to ſuit his Manner to their Merits.

However he declares, "*that to give them* "*an Opportunity of retrieving their Charac-* "*ters, they were thereby publickly challenged* "*to diſcover in the Book, which had given* "*them ſo great Offence, either* Falſification of "Hiſtory, *or* Defect of Argument: *And* "*provided they could do this with* Decency, "Senſe *and* Reaſon, *he promiſes, that their* "*Remarks ſhould be received with all* proper "*Attention.*"

But theſe People take Care not to enter the Liſts with him, they never attempt to reaſon upon the Subject, and therefore may very well be over-looked by that Writer; as indeed they might have been by every one elſe, if it were not for their impudent perſonal Miſrepreſentations, by which the meaneſt may ſometimes make themſelves ſo conſiderable as to oblige a Man, in Juſtice to himſelf, to honour them with an Anſwer. For *Miſrepreſentation* is generally moſt dangerous among *low* People, as it's Effects are there leaſt ſeen, and for

for want of Diſcovery and timely Oppoſition, are apt to extend the fartheſt.

With regard to the *Number* of the *Monthly Reviewers* concerned in this perſonal Abuſe of *Dr.* Free, it is no eaſy Matter to aſſign it. Their own Accounts upon theſe Occaſions are no more to be truſted, than thoſe of a *French* General after his Defeat: And being anonymous Authors, they ſo far reſemble the *American* Buſh-fighters, that their Adverſary can never be ſuppoſed to get a Sight of all their Forces, but muſt content himſelf with diſneſting them as he can, and diſpatching them as they riſe.

There is Room to collect from a Paſſage in their Relation, that there were † *fifteen* of their Body, and all in *Buckram*, upon this Detachment; but by the diſcharge they made I ſhould hardly believe there were more than *four*. Of theſe, before they took on in the Service of the *Dunciad*, it was imagined by People who are uſed to obſerve *Phyſognomies*, that the firſt was a *decayed Gentleman*. For a *Gentleman*, unleſs he were *reduced*, would hardly be ſeen in ſuch Company. The ſecond, they ſay, had been a *Man-midwife*. The third was

† Review for *Aug.* Pag. 145. The preſent Committee of Fifteen have unanimouſly agreed after mature Conſideration, &c.

infal-

infallibly a *Writing-maſter*. And the laſt reſembled a Thing which they call in ſome Univerſities a *Junior Soph*.

THE *decayed Gentleman*, the moſt cautious of the Party, coming with Reluctance to the Engagement, by his little Inclination to the Attack, has done, it is thought, the leſs Injury to himſelf: But the reſt having nothing to uſe but Powder, and being very furious, overcharged, to make the greater Report, and were left breathleſs from the Recoil of their own Pieces, while the Perſon they aimed at, appeared to be laughing at their Folly, the Moment that their Smoke and Vapour blew away. It ſeemed very odd though, upon the clearing up of Things, that this vengeful Exploſion ſhould be aimed at the Rev. Dr. FREE, whom the *Monthly Reviewers*, or their *Maſter*, had celebrated more than once in their *Evening Advertiſer*, with great Familiarity by *Name*, as a very *harmleſs, inoffenſive Gentleman*. I really cannot tell what Countrymen the *Monthly Reviewers* may be, their Writings ſhew, that they do not chooſe to be called *Engliſhmen*, and indeed their Behaviour in the Particular laſt mentioned, puts me in Mind of a *Native-Iriſh* Gentleman, who receiving a good Box on the Ear from his Father, took it patiently enough from him, but returned it thick and threefold upon the next By-

ſtander who had done him no Injury. In like Manner theſe ſagacious Gentlemen waving all Conteſt with the *Antigallican*, transfer their Attack to another Quarter, and chooſe to make an Adverſary of Dr. FREE, as though he had been the Perſon, who in every Stage had affronted them. However, notwithſtanding the Inſinuation of the *Monthly Reviewers*, I do not think there is any Neceſſity for aſcribing this Pamphlet to the Doctor, eſpecially as he has not put his Name to it. And therefore for Diſtinction's Sake, during the Diſpute, and becauſe I think it a little more civil, I ſhall call the Author, as he calls himſelf, the *Antigallican*,——not forgetting, however, upon Occaſion, to defend Dr. F——from perſonal Abuſes and Miſrepreſentations, and thereby to remove, or make theſe Gentlemen remove, which perhaps in the End they may be *glad* to do; all the dirty Rubbiſh they have laid at his Door, and take it to their own * *Premiſſes*.

To begin then——The *firſt* Remark, theſe Writers make——I ſay *Writers* in a collective Senſe; becauſe in the common

* We hope the *Reviewers*, to avoid a Reflection upon themſelves, will not take this Word here in a *logical* Senſe: And therefore that they will acquit the Author in this Place of being guilty of a *Pun*, a Miſdemeanor he is ſeldom accuſed of, though it be one of the *Articles*, they exhibit againſt him.

Courſe

Courſe of Things, whatever is done by a Committee is to be charged on the whole Body, unleſs the reſt of the Members publickly *recant*, *remonſtrate*, or *proteſt* againſt it.——I ſay then, the firſt Remark theſe Writers make, is upon a Paſſage, as far on in this little Pamphlet called the *Monthly Reviewers reviewed*, as the 20th Page, and there are no more than 27 Pages in the whole. I do not know whether it be uſual with theſe Gentlemen to *begin* thus in the *Middle* or nearer the *latter End* of Things; but be that as it will: Here is a *Falſhood* in their firſt Quotation, "they "thankfully acknowledge, it ſeems, that "without his own Information they ſhould "never have diſcovered, that he (the "*Doctor*) is ſometimes a little pleaſant and "facetious, after the Manner of Dr. *Swift* "and the Practice of *Horace*."——

If Men can read no better than this, it is no News to the World that they are unable to make Diſcoveries. The Words of the *Antigallican* are theſe——"The *Doc*-"*tor*'s Book is *Argumentation* throughout, "moſtly *ſerious*, ſometimes indeed, where "the Subject ſeemed to require it, after "the Manner of Dr. *Swift*, he is a little "*pleaſant* and *facetious*. In which Prac-"tice he is warranted by that excellent "Maſter *Horace*; who being an *Anti-*

" *Dunce*, perhaps was never ſufficiently " ſtudied by *you*, or any of thoſe Authors " which, &c."

Here is a pretty wide Difference between what theſe Gentlemen report of the *Antigallican* and his Words, and the Words themſelves. Perhaps this Error of theirs might have been avoided, and the whole *ſmart* Remark have been ſuppreſſed, had they made a *regular* Entry, and purſued their Subject in the Order in which it lay, or even been able to read like other People. For in that Caſe, they would ſoon have ſeen that the Author had aſſigned a ſolid Reaſon, why the Diſcoveries they talk of, were not to be expected from *them*, even becauſe they were not acquainted with ſuch a *Latin* Writer.

After this falſe Step the *Reviewer*, if he be *one*, puts on an Air of Civility, and tells us in the Name of his *Brethren*,——" We " are ſerious in affirming, that from a ſin- " cere Approbation of his *Antigallican* " Principles, we ſhould have been de- " lighted with a *juſtifiable Opportunity* of " approving his Writings alſo." (*Review* for *Aug*. P. 143.)

I have heard of a juſtifiable *Occaſion*, or a *fair* Opportunity, but a *juſtifiable Opportunity* (as *Opportunity* is a Thing not in our Power) is a Phraſe by no Means current in our

our Language. And therefore I am apprehenſive that it would be no great Credit to a Writer to ſeek to be approved by theſe *Criticks*, who ſeem to be not yet acquainted with the *Engliſh* Tongue, and yet they ſay——

" We credit (Dr. FREE) him with hav-
" ing done his *utmoſt* to afford us ſuch an
" Opportunity, which is the *utmoſt* that
" *Genius* itſelf can do."——*Review ubi*
" *ſupra*.

Why to be ſure he that has done his *utmoſt*, has done his *utmoſt*, whether he be a *Genius* or no.— But I am afraid this will be found to be the utmoſt *Tautology*, and therefore no great Proof, that the Writer of it is a proper Judge, when a Man's Head ſhall *be out of Luck* as he calls it. For if he had known the State of his own, he would certainly never have troubled the World with theſe his unfortunate Writings. Unfortunate I call them, as upon many other Accounts, ſo eſpecially upon this, becauſe this Opinion he there entertains of Dr. *Free*'s high Admiration of their Talents, appears to be quite without Foundation, and ſuch as a *Monthly Reviewer*, unleſs the *Reviewers* be divided among themſelves, cannot conſiſtently with the Declarations of that Body entertain. I ſay in the firſt Place, that this Opinion ſeems to be quite without Foundation. For where does it

appear that *Dr. F*— was deſirous to form his Taſte by theirs, or that their Applauſe, was ſo important to him as to Merit his Attention. He never took in their Review; and excepting this Number for *Auguſt*, wherein he has been ſo impudently abuſed by *Name*, I believe he never read a Page in any other in his Life, ſo little is he concerned about their Praiſes. And if his Friend the *Antigallican* ſpeaks his Sentiments, it is very evident he does by no Means deſire their Approbation.

And indeed another Perſon, for I would not ſuppoſe a Gentleman to contradict himſelf, I ſay another Perſon concern'd with this more genteel Reviewer againſt the Doctor ſeems to take it ſo, and complains of the *Antigallican* for uſing ſuch Appellations as *Dunce*, *Fool*, *Raſcal*, and diſcharging them from his *Syllogiſms* indiſcriminately upon their whole Society, one would think by this contrariety of Opinions, that the Reviewers were a little at Variance, whereas, it behoves ſuch Oracles to be always Uniform. Indeed I have heard that ſome Writings of Dr. *Free*'s, which pleaſed their whole Body the Year 1753. diſpleaſed them in 1755. And in this Piece of theirs, under Conſideration in one Place, we are told that the Reaſon why they paid no more Reſpect to his Book, upon the Importance of the *Name of England*

gland, was becauſe they had *no Room*, and yet a little after it is inſinuated, that it was for the Sake of giving *a Friendly Invelopement to that infirm deceaſed Infant*, Infirm, though as it was, it has ſo far reſembled an Infant *Hercules*, as to cruſh the Serpents, that dared approach it's Cradle. Theſe different Accounts however from the Reviewers ſhew, that they are not *quite* of a *Mind*, a Thing they ſhould ſeriouſly conſider, for the World at this Rate, will diſtinguiſh them into *Parties*, and we ſhall have *Monthly* againſt *Reviewers*, and *Reviewers* againſt *Monthly*. To prevent the fatal Conſequences of ſuch Diviſions in their Society, theſe Gentlemen ſhould remember the tender Admonitions of their Mother *Dulneſs*, which to be ſure they muſt have read in their *Dunciad*.

Embrace, Embrace, my Sons be Foes no more;
Nor Glad vile Poets with true Criticks *Gore:*
Blockheads *with Reaſon wicked wits abhor,*
But Fool *with* Fool *is barbarous civil War.*

But this by the Way, it not being our Deſign to perſue theſe Gentlemen in their Relentings. It is rather our Purpoſe,

Parcere Subjectis, & debellare Superbos.

To take them, as they advance upon

their *Cart-Horſe-Trot*, in the Likeneſs of their new Hero *Hudibras* furiouſly dull, or if they pleaſe, dully furious. It is a Queſtion which of theſe Two, is the fitter Phraſe, and were their Committee of Fifteen ſtill ſubſiſting there is no Doubt, but that venerable Aſſembly would have been convened and profoundly engaged in ſhewing the World the Propriety of the one Exp eſſion above the other. This Mention of *Hudibraſs*, muſt certainly ſuggeſt to every Reader, who has thought it worth his while to peruſe the *Monthly Review*, a Striking Reflection upon the extraordinary Force of Nature in ſome Conſtitutions: I thought, and ſo did moſt other People, that the *Antigallican* had cured theſe Gentlemen of their Love of Knights and Knight Errantry; but it ſeems they were incurable. For though the *Antigallican* had ſtript them of their *ſacred Scarf*, their *Helmet*, and their *Mail Naturam expellas Furca*, and rendered them incapable of appearing any more in the Gallant Accoutrements of the renowned *Don Quixote*, yet rather than quit the *Profeſſion*, they content themſelves with ſerving in an humbler Station, and fancy, at length that there is ſome Similitude between themſelves and *Hudibraſs*. One would imagine by this Deſcent, that Matters grew worſe with them toward the *End* of their Day. For *Don Quixote* and the ſeven Champions

Champions were certainly *Knights* of higher Quality than *Hudibraſs*.

HOWEVER it was under this Image, and Similitude, it ſeems, or at leaſt under the Auſpices of this *Hero* that the *Reviewers* chooſe to engage with *Dr. F—e*. As to the Manner of the Engagement the Reader, I will Promiſe, ſhall hear, as much *as he deſires of it*, and perhaps a great deal more. The Gentleman in the *Van* declares in the Style of *French* Moderation. "*To be as* "*partial in his Favour, as we durſt, we juſt* "glanced *at our* Friend's *former Pamphlet*, "*without tranſcribing one* Sentence from it, a very fair Way of Dealing indeed, both by the Publick and the Author.

WERE theſe Gentlemen equal to their Taſk, or even ſo far Maſters of common Senſe, as not to be too much delighted with their own ridiculous Deciſions, they might fare better as *Criticks*, not by *glancing* at Authors as they term it, but by giving the Publick a Paſſage or two fairly taken from each Book: whereby without any *Odium* drawn upon themſelves, the Writer's Abilities would be ſoon diſcerned, and the World enabled impartially to form their own Judgment, unbiaſſed by ſuch impertinent and unſkilful Aſſiſtance. Thus for Inſtance, inſtead of ſaying of Dr. *Free*'s laſt Pamphlet and that of the *Antigallican*—"could "we have miſtaken the *Puerility* and *Declammation*

" *clamation* of the *one* for Argument, or the " *Buffoonery* of the other for *Wit*, *&c*". they ſhould have pointed out ſome *Example*, of what they call *Puerlity* and *Declamation*, in the one, or expoſed ſome of the *Buffoonery*, which held the Place of Wit in the other, but then having condemned the Books before Hand, by their *ipſe dixit* they muſt, as they ſay, by the Paſſages taken from theſe Writings " have " manifeſted their own Want of Diſcern- " ment, and been convicted Fools by be- " traying themſelves." —ſo irrecoverable are ſome falſe Steps. But we muſt follow the Gentleman, who proceeds and ſays,

Our *Antigallican*'s Zeal for the Honour and Intereſt of *England* is very right in itſelf, and much more laudable than an Attachment ſolely to his own; and yet, without the leaſt Detraction, there may be more Felicity than Merit in ſuch a Diſpoſition. People are often born and educated into rational Politics, which their own undirected Judgment might not have embraced; as a Spendthrift, who would never have earned a ſingle Pound, may inherit Thouſands. To conquer every erroneous Prepoſſeſſion, and to extricate ourſelves from all the Prejudices annexed to our Birth, and rivetted by Education, Cuſtom, and Connection, is ſuch Merit indeed, as ſuppoſes the Reflection of a Philoſopher joined to the Reſolution of a Hero. Dr. *Free*'s happy *Name* might ſuggeſt, to any Owner of it, a Deteſtation of every ſlaviſh Doctrine in Church or State: Though be a Man's political Notions wiſe or otherwiſe, the reſult of Accident, or of Reflection, they have no inſeperable Relation to good or bad *Writing*, the only Sourſe of our difference with this *Antigallican*.

The Reſpect which here ſeems to be paid to the Memory of Dr. *F*—*s* Father, or thoſe, who after his Death had the Care of

of his Education, is I durſt venture to ſay by no means diſagreeable to him: But if theſe Monthly Reviewers would inſinuate by this, that Dr. *Free* took up his *Political* Opinions by *Inheritance*, it is manifeſt by this Inſtance, as by many others, notwithſtanding they would ſome of them appear to be ſo familiarly acquainted with his Life, and Converſation, that they are almoſt as great Strangers to his *Hiſtory*, as his Perſon. For if they had read the *Sermon*, which ſtands the firſt in this Collection, and which was Printed *for the firſt Time*, in the late *Rebellion*, they might ſee, that Dr. *F*— had reaſoned himſelf into the Opinions, he *maintains*, And if among the great *Crop* of *Pamphlets*, and *Harangues*, which thoſe Times produced, the *Monthly Reviewers* can ſhew one, wherein the *Principles* of the *Revolution*; the Principles, upon which our preſent *Conſtitution* ſtands, were either more clearly deduced, better defended, or better applied, Dr. *F*— is ready to acknowledge his Obligations to them, for any ſuperior Information: But if this on their Part, cannot be done, than he hopes theſe *Monthly Reviewers*, that Perſon, at leaſt with whom he is now debating (for the Reſt, will appear to deſerve nothing but Contempt) will have Grace enough to withdraw that Objection to Dr. *Free*'s Notions, wherein he inſinuates that they were not ſo much the Effect

of

of *Reaſon*, as the *Prejudices* of his Education.

As to their Difference with him about *good* or *bad Writing*, if it ſubſiſt apart from *particular* Miſrepreſentations, and amount only in the *General* to this, "that Dr. *Free*'s Taſte is not *agreeable to ours*." without their honouring this or that Paſſage, or Book, with ſome lying Comment, I can't ſee how it can be any Detriment to him. For as he was poſſeſſed, long before their Exiſtence as *Criticks*, of the *Applauſe* of much *wiſer* and *better* Men, he would ſcarce be inclined to exchange *it* for *theirs*: Who by their Rank, as *Mercenaries*, muſt always be ſubject to the dirty Influence of their *Bookſeller*; to approve, or condemn, as ſhall beſt ſerve the Purpoſes of his Trade; and who, if they were at *Liberty*, are otherwiſe ſo poorly qualified, that in this very Work, which doubtleſs they hoped, and intended would do them *Credit*, at the Expence of their Adverſary; There are numberleſs Marks of Deficiency not only in point of *Capacity*, but of *Truth*: I am afraid the very next Sentence will appear to have a Daſh of *Falſhood*.

"Dr. *Free*'s Pamphlet *on the Importance* " *of the Engliſh Name*, doubtleſs intended " for the Honour and Intereſt of the gene- " rous *South Britons*, would without the leaſt " *Plot* or Intention, debaſe them into thoſe " mean local Prejudices, and that con-

" tracted

" tracted Demeanour, ſo diſagreeable to
" their Character, as a People rather diſ-
" tinguiſhed by their examplary Sincerity,
" and leſs partial Benevolence."

Now this ſeems to be directly contrary to the Temper of Dr. *Free*'s Pamphlet, as it is clearly expreſſed in the 29th Page (of the firſt Edition, and the 156th of this Collection.) Where, after recounting ſeveral Paſſages of *Hiſtory*, and proving that the *Eaſtern* Parts of what is called *Scotland*, have been almoſt Time immemorial filled with *Engliſhmen*, and that perhaps two Thirds of *Ireland* are ſtill the ſame, he infers his *principal* Propoſition, " that the
" Diſuſe of the *Name* of *England*, and like-
" wiſe that of *Engliſhman*, among thoſe
" who are of *Engliſh* Extraction, hath ſen-
" ſibly hurt and diminiſhed the Strength,
" Influence, and Extent, of our *native*
" Country."

And then adds—" Till ſome *publick* Ex-
" pedient therefore be *authoriſed*, we ought
" certainly to correct this *Error* in our
" own *Converſation*; and treat with all
" imaginable *Civility*, and direct *Ac-*
" *knowledgement*, any of our *Countrymen*
" from *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or any other
" Part of this Empire, who from the Re-
" membrance of their *antient* ORIGINAL,
" ſhall call themſelves the Sons of our
" venerable Parent *Old* ENGLAND."

The

The Reader perhaps will be a little at a Loſs to know how * the Gentleman could be

* That I may not be diverted from cloſely purſuing this flying Squadron, I throw out here in a Note, an Hint to By-ſtanders, to make their Obſervations on the Conduct and Opinions of our Opponents. They charge Dr. *Free* with encouraging *local* Prejudices, which the Reader has ſeen is falſe, by the above Quotation from his Book: But that the Charge may be retorted upon them, is evident from an Account they have inſerted at the End of their *Review* for *Auguſt*, of one Mr. *Peter Pinnda*'s Book concerning the Family of the *Brigantes* or *Douglaſi*, &c. which they would never have inſerted without paſſing ſome Cenſure upon it, unleſs they were inclined to favour thoſe ridiculous Fables and Prejudices among the *Scots*, which have always led them to lean to *France*, and oppoſe themſelves to *England*, or unleſs they were wretched Mercenaries, who would inſert any Thing for a certain Price, even an Author's own fond Account of his own Works, which Practice I have heard ſtrongly and peremtorily charged upon them: But if this latter be an Article they chooſe to deny, as indeed if they have any Shame they muſt, then will the former Part of the Dilemna have it's Weight againſt them.

If the *Monthly Reviewers* be *Highlanders*, and of the moſt *ignorant* Sort of that *deluded* People, then there is ſome Allowance to be made for thoſe native Prejudices, from the Bondage of which, their ſmall Stock of Learning has not been ſufficient to releaſe them: But if they be *Engliſh Scots* or *Lowlanders* bearing *Engliſh* Names, and profeſſing themſelves Men of Learning, then they could never ſubſcribe to thoſe ſcandalous Lies and Falſhoods, which were never invented or cheriſhed but to raiſe in the ignorant *Highlanders* a Diſinclination to the *Engliſh*, nor ever imbibed by the *Lowlanders*, but with a View to give *Weight*, *Spirit* and *Extent*, to that *Diſunion*.

For theſe ridiculous *Scotch* Fables of *Gathelus*, *Portus Gatheli*, &c. have been exploded over and over, by learned Men, as not having the leaſt Foundation in *Hiſtory* or *common Senſe*. The Reader may ſee ſome Account of them in Dr. *Free*'s *Diſſertation* upon the *Language* and *Dominion* of

be guilty of ſuch a Miſrepreſentation, but he himſelf has helped us to a Solution of the Difficulty a little after; by giving us to underſtand, that he was one of thoſe "*In-*"*nocents*, who never read a *Sentence* of his "(the Doctor's) former Pamphlet;" he means that which was now quoted.

But if this Propoſition be true, may we not fairly deduce from thence two *Corollaries*?

1*ſt*, That the *Monthly Reviewers* ſubſcribe their Aſſent to the Characters of Books, which they never read.

2*dly*, That ſuch Characters of Books, being therefore confeſſedly Impoſitions,

of the PICTS: And likewiſe in the Writings of Mr. *Innes*, a learned and plain-dealing Hiſtorian, who, though himſelf a Native of *Scotland*, ſpeaks of theſe ſilly Legends, and their Tendencies in the following Manner.

"*Far from doing any real Honour to our Country, or con-*"*tributing, as all* Hiſtorical *Accounts ought to do, to the* "*Benefit of Poſterity*, and *the mutual Happineſs of* King and "People, *they rather bring a Reproach upon the* Country, "*and furniſh an Handle to* turbulent Spirits *to diſturb the* "*Quiet*, and *Peace*, and *by Conſequence the* Happineſs of the "*Inhabitants.*" So ſays Mr. *Innes*, and to this Gentleman's Writings I refer all ſenſible and well-affected *Scotchmen*.

It is not Dr. *Free*, therefore, or his Friend the *Antigallican*, but the *Monthly Reviewers*, who are attached to narrow *local* Prejudices. Nor can a *Principle* which is founded upon Truth, be ſo *fundamentally impolitick*, as that which is founded upon Lies. For State-Falſhoods are always invented to ſerve bad Purpoſes, and therefore it is, that the Generality of the World are of the ſame Opinion with Dr. *Free*, that *Honeſty* is the beſt *Policy*.

But this by the Way, a little more of it hereafter.

are

are univerſally to be ſet aſide and diſregarded.

But this more civilized *Reviewer* proceeds and ſays——"It were injudicious, "to be ſerious with a Gentleman who, "though ordained to inſtruct others in the "Moderation of their Paſſions, has indul-"ged his own Wrath, *&c.*"

Now to make this ſober Obſervation applicable to the Subject, the Gentleman ſhould have been better aſſured firſt, that Dr. *Free* was the *Antigallican* who wrote the *Monthly Reviewers reviewed*. *2dly*, That he was angry, and then I think, with Regard to their firſt Provocation, I muſt here join Iſſue with my civil Friend in condemning the Doctor for indulging his Wrath; "*So unjuſtly as to the Objects, ſo* "*unproportionably as to the Cauſe of it.*"—— Good!—very good!——For really I cannot ſay the *Monthly Reviewers* were worth his Notice.

——*Di Te* Damaſippe *Deæque.*
Verum ob Conſilium donent Tonſore. HOR.

Having thus diſmiſſed my PHILOSOPHER, the *decayed Gentleman*, and ſent him to the Barber's to get his Beard off, and be refreſhed a little, it may not be amiſs to confer with the Reader a Moment upon the Words he let fall at parting, and to deſire his unprejudiced Opinion as to the Truth

Truth and Falſhood of them. The Gentleman ſaid, that as the Opinion of his Brethren concerning his Book on the *Importance of the Name of* England, " was " comprized in two ſhort Periods, con- " taining but five Lines, it could not, ac- " cording to their Conſtitution, be refer- " red to a Committee of more than *three*. " And ſo tenderly are we diſpoſed to reſent " any Thing that can come from Dr. *Free*, " that theſe *identical* Three are prohibited " from interfering on the † preſent Pam- " phlet, which has ſo exquiſitely *beſyllogiſed* " them; and for them only, to prevent " the leaſt Acrimony in ourſelves, we ſhall " chooſe to ſuppoſe he deſigned all his " inveƈtive."——

Now herein you know our civil Friend might be *miſinformed*, or he might tell a *Fib*, as many *civil* People do. For I believe you will be inclined to think with me, by the Diſorder in the Speech and Behaviour of the three ſucceeding Actors, their Fits of *Nonſenſe*, and other Marks of *Confuſion*, that theſe muſt be the very *Culprits*, who ſmarted under the Laſh of the *Antigallican*, but we muſt ſhew them off as they riſe.——Enter Figure the *firſt* and *ſecond*.——Gentlemen——here is at your Service——a *Man-Midwife*,——and that behind

† Monthly Reviewers reviewed.

him which you take for a *Merry-Andrew*, is a *Writing-Maſter*. The Practitioner, you ſee him there, after adjuſting his great Wig, Cloak and Muff, elevating the Head of his *Cane* to his *Noſe*, advances to the Front of the Stage, and begins his Diſcourſe with *Rickets* and *Diſtortions*, and then, by Way of *Antitheſis*, I ſuppposſe, tells the Mob, That Dr. *Free* is of *Antediluvian Stamina*, talks to them of *Solidity* and *Organization*, conſiſtent *Iſſues*, and other ſuch *outlandiſh Phraſes*, which, though they may ſhew the Gentleman's Skill in *Oſteology*, *Myology*, *Phyſiology* and animal *Oeconomy*, can never paſs for a *ſolid* Anſwer to the Argument of Dr. *Free*'s Book.

THEN *as one Error is often inductive of more*, no ſooner has the Son *Æſculapius* made his *Exit*, but you ſee his *Zany* the *Writing-Maſter*, prompted by all-ſufficient Self-conceit, muſt needs have a Word with the Gentleman; from his Fulneſs he had guſhed in once or twice during the other's Converſation. He now accoſts our *Divine* in his *own Right*, and calls him in *uncouth* Phraſe a *Diſcarding*, ſo hard is it for a *Writing-Maſter* to make a *Diminutive* of a *Doctor*. However to level him to his own Size, he is for *indoctoring* him.——And here to convince the Reader how fit theſe People may be to criticiſe the Writings of Dr. *Free*, or indeed the Writings of any Author

Author whatever, I muſt give him a *Specimen* of the *Stile:*

" His Erudition ſhould have been con-
" tinued much longer than it has: For
" though he appears by his Attemptings
" to write, and eſpecially by half a Page
" of Mottos, to have ſome Tincture of
" the Schools, he has been taken much
" too young from them. This muſt be
" glaringly evident from his dabbling ſtill
" with Dirt-pyes, whence he ſmears all
" the Paper, he ſcrawls, with his black
" Paws.— Let him thankfully diſport and
" amuſe himſelf within the large Bounds
" we have aſſigned him; only obſerving
" to write his future Exerciſes fair; to
" waſh his Mouth; and to get his Cate-
" chiſm better by heart."

Gentle Reader, is not this a *Writing-Maſter*?— And are you not a little aſtoniſhed not only at the Impudence of this Man, ſo ignorant as he appears, and in the literary Way ſo worthleſs? but alſo at the Want of publick Order and Decency in the Nation where we live, when through the Licentiouſneſs of the Times, an anonymous Scribler, ſupported by the Impudence of ſome intereſted Bookſeller, may with Impunity, throw out ſuch inſolent Abuſe againſt an Univerſity reſpectable as a *learned* Body all over *Europe*; conſtituted by our *Kings* and *State*, as *lawful* and *ap-*

proved Judges of the literary Capacity of its Subjects; and againſt a Gentleman, who as a Member of that Univerſity, with great Credit acquired, and hath for many Years poſſeſſed, and ſtill poſſeſſes, the higheſt Honours that the Place afforded. I ſay this ſeriouſly of the Times——With Regard to Perſon, himſelf who hath been guilty of this Inſolence, as he is without a Name, were we to ſeek after him, it ſeems, we cannot find him. However, in the dark Receſſes of his Obſcurity, he may reſt aſſured, that the Univerſity of *Oxford* are ſo far from taking Part with the Sons of *Dulneſs*, that inſtead of *undoctoring* Dr. *Free*, as they call it, it is more likely, had they any Thing further to give, that they would accumulate another Degree upon him for reſcuing Learning out of the Hands of it's venal Enemies, and routing and diſtreſſing ſuch a mercenary Troop of Dunces.

I think it is but common Juſtice to the Pub- eſpecially Strangers, and thoſe, who live at a Diſtance, and likewiſe to Dr. *Free*, as he has been thus vilified by theſe *Hackney-Writers*, to ſay ſomething of his real Character, in which I ſhall be as brief as poſſible, that I may not give him Pain on the one Hand, or be tedious to the Reader on the other. That Gentleman then had not been long at the Univerſity before he

began

began to be conſidered as one, that would prove an Ornament to the College, where he was bred.

SOON after he had taken his *Batchelor*'s Degree, being then in the North of *England*, he travelled a long Winter-Journey to *Oxford*, to ſtand for a Fellowſhip at *Merton College*. There were eighteen Candidates, and his Appearance, as reported by all the Electors, was ſo much to his Honour, that Dr. *Foulkes*, then Canon of *Chriſt-Church*, and as good a Claſſical Scholar as moſt in *England*, procured him immediately, without his Knowledge, or Sollicitation, an handſome Exhibition, for the Credit he had done that Society.

WHEN he was *Pro-proctor* of the UNIVERSITY, and *Maſter* of the *Schools*, by his Vigilance over the *Behaviour* of the young Gentlemen, and diligent Attendance on the *publick Exerciſes*, he gained ſo much the Eſteem of the *Vice-Chancellor*, and *Heads of Houſes*; that, when there was a Debate in Convocation, how to diſpoſe of an eventual Legacy of the late Lord *Crew*'s, upon his making a Speech upon the Queſtion, the Univerſity unanimouſly agreed to ſettle it upon his Succeſſors, for the Augmentation of their Salary.

FROM the Time he had thus honourably taken his Leave of the *Schools* of ARTS, he began to be as remarkable in the *School*

of DIVINITY: And when he thought proper to take his *firſt* Degree in that *Faculty*, to do Credit to the Univerſity he choſe for *one* of his Antagoniſts in the Diſputation, a Gentleman of remarkable Skill in *Philoſophy*, and a prime *Tutor* in one of the moſt flouriſhing Colleges, and for the *other* a Gentleman known over *Europe* for his Skill in the *Oriental* Languages. The Exerciſe performed by theſe three Diſputants was no mean Exerciſe, ſuch, I dare ſay, as the *Monthly Reviewers* never heard in any of their *Hedge-Academies*.

DURING this Time Dr. *Free* was as well known in the Pulpit as in the Schools: The *Dean* of *Chriſt-Church* * generally aſſigned him his Turns to preach, on the *High-Feſtivals*; nor was he leſs remarkable at St. *Mary*'s. I believe the impartial Reader, by this Time, will think it no Wonder, that the Univerſity of *Oxford* thought proper, ſome Years ſince, to decorate ſuch a Member with the Degree of *Doctor in Divinity*: Nor will it appear ſtrange, that the *Antigallican* ſhould call the *Reviewer* ſome hard Names, who hath thus ſet his Hand to his Conviction, by attempting afreſh to leſſen Dr. *Free*'s Credit, and that of the Univerſity, where he was not only highly eſteemed as an *Academick*, but ſo

* Dr. *Coneybeare*, late Biſhop of *Briſtol*.

regarded

regarded as a *Man*, that, excepting upon *political* Differences, he never had an Enemy.

When the Rebellion of 1745 had exaſperated theſe Differences, and made Dr. *Free*'s Reſidence at *Oxford* uneaſy, and his Subſiſtence precarious, he retired (under Favour of the then Miniſtry, may I ſpeak it) to teach Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School in *Southwark*. Even in this Situation he did not forget to do Honour to the Place of his Education. He was the *firſt* Perſon that attempted the *Hiſtory* of the *Engliſh Tongue*; the Book had many good Tendencies, the Plan was approved by his *Royal* Highneſs *Frederick* Prince of *Wales*, and ordered to proceed. The firſt Part, with the intended Dedication to Prince *George*, was printed in the Year 1749, and was greatly approved by the Learned in Antiquities, both in *England* and *Wales*; but his *Royal* Highneſs dying, that *Work* was diſcontinued: For Dr. *Free*, at the ſame Time he was engaged in that, was ſtill employed on more. He publiſhed the next Year a Volume of Sermons, preached with Applauſe before the Univerſity, and well received and honoured in other Countries beſide *England*. The Credit of a Volume of *Poems*, which he printed the ſucceeding Year, is too well eſtabliſhed to be hurt by the *Glancings* of a few *Grub-ſtreet*

Writers. *Stigand*, or the *Antigallican*, it ſeems, is a particular Object of their Diſpleaſure; but why? — *Stigand* was that Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who withſtood that Inundation of *French* and *Foreigners*, which ſwept away, at one Time, that indefatigable and warlike Prince, the *Engliſh* King *Harold*, and his gallant Brothers; and reaching *Scotland*, ſoon overwhelmed, in the ſame Calamity, becauſe he was of *Engliſh* Principles, that excellent *Scotiſh* King, *Malcolm Kenmaur*, in whom were united

Virtus SCIPIADÆ, *& mitis Sapientia* LÆLI.

WAS it for oppoſing the Introduction of ſuch a *French* Power in this Iſland, that the *Reviewers* can upbraid Dr. *F.* for raiſing up new *Stigands*. Thanks to Divine Providence, there is one raiſed up already, and I truſt, that in ſuch perilous Times we ſhall never be without one.

HAVING entertained the Reader thus far, with the profound Conceptions and wrong-headed Remarks of thoſe two extraordinary *Comedians*, the *Man-midwife*, and the *Writing-maſter*: I think it is Time, in the Language of the *Rehearſal*, to deſire them to *ſmell off*; by which I would mean, that they ſhould carry their own ill Savour along with them, becauſe before this they muſt grow offenſive.

ſſenſive. Beſide, they ought to make Room for their younger Brother the *junior Soph*, who doubtleſs would take it amiſs, if he were not to be ſhewn in his Turn, as well as they. You ſhall ſee him in his *Plumage*, and afterwards, when we have * *pluck'd* him, in his naked Condition. He enters pretty confident, and ſays, that he gives Dr. *F.* " a ſtrict Injunction not to " attempt to reaſon for (a long Term of) " Years, not even by playing at Syllogiſms, " in Imitation of it; theſe being as dan- " gerous to infantile Intellects, as broken " Glaſs or Knives to the Fingers of Babes."

I HAVE heard indeed, that *Imitation* has been attended with bad Conſequences. The Reader will find it to be the *Moral* of the following Story. During the firſt Wars of the *Spaniards* in *America*, their Army happen'd to encamp in a *Savannah*, which was bounded at the End, by one of thoſe vaſt and over-grown Woods, which are ſtill to be met with in that Country. They had not been long in this Situation, before they were ſurprized by an uncommon Noiſe in the Night; which, as they could not tell what to make of it, rendered them, for a Time, a little uneaſy: But when Day came on, their Fears abated; but their Surprize and Indignation increaſed, to ſee

* To *pluck*, in the Language of the *Univerſity*, ſignifies to *diſgrace* a young *Scholar*, who cannot do his *Exerciſe*.

them-

themſelves ſurrounded by an Army of *Monkies*. Though there was no Meaning in their Noiſe, yet their miſchievous impudent Behaviour, and continual *Chattering*, made them ſo troubleſome, that the Soldiers were often provoked to fire at them; which, however, by reaſon of the exceſſive Height and Thickneſs of the Trees, and the Skill of theſe Animals in hiding themſelves, the Moment they ſaw a Gun preſented, did very little Execution. So conſidering they were not to ſpend too much of their Powder upon *Monkies*, they ſet themſelves to invent another Method of getting rid of ſuch troubleſome Company, in which they were not a little aſſiſted by a Perſon who had ſeen the Way of taking thoſe Animals in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In ſhort, they all went to work to make Shoes and Breeches for their new Comrades. The Monkies viewed them attentively at their Employment, and during the Ceſſation of Arms grew to be familiar Dogs indeed; inſomuch that there was ſcarce a ſingle Thing a Man could do, but a Monkey would be imitating them. A Quantity of theſe Shoes and Breeches therefore being finiſhed, the Soldiers left them at the Foot of the Trees, and ſat down at a little Diſtance, to pull off and put on their own, and then retired farther. The Monkies immediately deſcended from the Trees,

and

and fell to equipping themſelves in the Accoutrements which the *Spaniards* had left them, and in ſo doing had juſt Ingenuity enough to be the Cauſe of their own Deſtruction. For the Soldiers returning upon them with a Shout, they were ſo encumbered with their new Dreſs, that they loſt the Power of climbing, and all their uſual Arts of Evaſion: So many of the Pugnation were taken, and as other People may do, died with their Shoes on.

The Sight of ſo many of them hanging upon every Tree diſguſted their ſurviving Fraternity: they retired to the Woods, and the *Spaniſh* Army heard no more of them.

Now in applying this Story to the *Monthly Reviewers*, I do not ſay who bid them wear Shoes and Breeches like human Creatures, becauſe through the Miſapplication of their Time and Talents, many of them may have no ſuch Things to wear? But I ſay, who bid them hamper themſelves with Syllogiſm? Why the Anſwer is plain——The ſame forward Imitation, and Vanity of appearing like human Creatures, which unfortunately poſſeſſed *Cortezes* Monkies.

This the Gentleman *Imitator* partly confeſſes, for he ſays——"We ſhall *endeavour* by making a few *as bad Syllogiſms* as his own no eaſy Attempt."—It ſeems then

then this *Reviewer* took a great *Deal of Pains* about them, well! if he can aſſure the World of that, I will convince them that they are *very bad ones*. But then after the Compliment here paid to us, I think their *Committee* of fifteen ſhould have ſhewed ſome Faults in thoſe of the *Antigallican*, which they attribute to Dr. *Free*, which however I ſuppoſe they would have done, if they could have found any. As I have examined thoſe of the *Antigallican*, they muſt excuſe me if I now examine theirs.

SYLLOGISM I.

"MAJOR. As many *Scotchmen*, as are "diſaffected to the preſent happy Eſtabliſh-"ment, find Fault with the Union.

"MINOR. Dr. *Free*, in blaming the *En-"gliſh* for taking the Name of *Britons*, and "for calling the united Kingdoms *Great-"Britain*, according to the Direction of the "firſt Article of the Union, finds Fault "with the Union.

"CONCLUSION. Therefore Dr. *Free* is a "diſaffected *Scotchman*."

IN this Syllogiſm the Words *find Fault with the Union*, make the *middle* Term or *Medium*. The ſame is moreover the *Predicate* of each *Propoſition*. The Syllogiſm therefore is in the ſecond *Figure*. But if this Man had been a *Scholar*, he muſt have been

been ſenſible, that the ſecond *Figure* admits no *Affirmative* Concluſion. The Syllogiſm therefore is a *falſe* Syllogiſm, and as ſuch quite *inconcluſive*. To give it any Regularity, it muſt be reduced from the ſecond *Figure* to the *firſt*, and the *Major* muſt be *converted*; thus.

All who find Fault with the Union, are diſaffected *Scotchmen*.

But this *Propoſition* cannot be true, by the Account the Gentleman gives in the *Major* of the next Syllogiſm. For there he tells us, that the *French* likewiſe find *Fault with the Union*, and yet it ſhould ſeem ſtrange, that a Man ſhould be obliged to contradict himſelf. Surely there is this Secret in the Thing, that *Frenchmen* and *Scotchmen* are *equivalent* Terms with him, It certainly muſt be ſo. For put theſe two Propoſitions together, and it is a direct Conſequence.

Major. All, *who find Fault with the Union*, are diſaffected *Scotchmen*.

Minor. The *Frenchmen find Fault with the Union*. Therefore

Conclusion. The *Frenchmen* are diſaffected *Scotchmen*.—Very good! So *Frenchmen* are *Scotchmen*, and *Scotchmen* are *Frenchmen*.

This is ſuch a national Reflection upon our Countrymen in the *North*, as this *Monthly Reviewer* may be aſhamed of. I

am

am ſure Dr. *Free* and the *Antigallican* are aſhamed of it. For they hope to ſee many of them, if Neceſſity ſo require, Side by Side with the *Engliſh*, fighting in Defenſe of our *native* Country, and the Cauſe of *Liberty* againſt the common Enemy; and what if upon ſuch a glorious Occaſion, as they have ſo good a Title to it, we ſhould rather call them *Engliſhmen*? This *Reviewer* ſhould have remembered here the Hint his elder Brother gave him at ſetting out, about the Lawyer, *that was paid to hold his Peace*; or he might have borne in Mind his own ſage *Admonition* about *cutting of Fingers* with broken Glaſs. But we muſt give the Reader the whole *Syllogiſm*, becauſe the poor Thing conſiders it as a brilliant Diſplay of his Parts indeed.

SYLLOGISM II.

" MAJOR. The *Frenchmen* endeavour " to diſunite his Majeſty's Subjects of *En-* " *gland* and *Scotland* (as they endeavoured " to prevent the Union) and particularly to " revive the Diſtinction, and aggravate the " Enmity ſubſiſting between the two Na- " tions before the Union.

" MINOR. Dr. *Free* endeavours to re- " vive the Diſtinction; and is contemning " the common Appellation of *Britons*, de- " ſigned to cement the two Nations, has

" a

" a Tendency to revive and aggravate
" their former Enmity.
" CONCLUSION. Therefore Dr. *Free* is a
" *Frenchman*."

FOR the Structure of the Argument here, what with the Number and Confuſion of the *Terms*, and their ill Diſpoſition, it no more reſembles the Form of a Syllogiſm, than it does the Picture of the *Skeleton* in the *Anatomy* of an *Horſe*. And to the lying Objection in this and the other Minor, I anſwer once for all——

THAT Dr. *Free* appears throughout his Book, to be a ſincere Well-wiſher to the Union. His ſole Objections againſt the Name of *Great Britain* are, becauſe it has not anſwered the good Purpoſes intended by the Union, which he endeavours to eſtabliſh upon a true and ſolid Foundation, by ſhewing that the *Lowlands* of *Scotland* are a Part of *Old England*, and that the People are old *Engliſhmen*, and therefore as the *Kingdoms* are now united in one Intereſt, and their old Reaſons of Separation worn away, he thinks the Union would be much ſtrengthened by a direct Acknowledgment on both Sides of the antient Ties of Affinity, Language, Blood and Kindred, and therefore that the Northern *Engliſh* ſhould connect themſelves with

with us by the ſame *Name*, as being undeniably of the ſame *Nation*. This *Addition* of People from ſuch *Principles* well affected to our Country, the *Reviewer* who talks in the Style of a Writing-maſter calls *Diviſion*. But I believe he is the firſt Penman who ever taught his Scholars, that *to add*, was *to divide*.

To deſcend therefore to this Gentleman's Capacity, and talk to him in his own Way, we will make Choice of a Subject of no higher Nature than a Sum in *Addition*, ſuppoſe it to be of *Pounds*, *Shillings*, and *Pence*. Now, *Maſter*, can there be a proper *Union*, or Sum total, of the ſeveral *Members*, unleſs the leſſer Denominations be drawn into the greater; that is to ſay, *Farthings* into *Pence*, *Pence* into *Shillings*, and *Shillings* into *Pounds*? Either this muſt be the Caſe, or *Meſter* muſt proceed *Vice verſa*, and then perhaps with him an *Engliſhman* ſhould hold the Place of a *Farthing*, an Engliſh *Lowlander* the Place of a *Penny*, an *Highlander* in the *Engliſh* Intereſt the Place of a *Shilling*, and an *Highlander* in the *French* Intereſt the Place of a *Pound*. But this is a kind of *Political* ARITHMETICK we do not underſtand, and therefore, to retort the Verſe of *Virgil*, which they have been pleaſed to *parody*, he muſt permit me to ſay,

Non

Non tali Auxilio nec Defenſoribus iſtis
Anglus *eget*——

That is, We *Engliſhmen* deſire no ſuch Advocates as theſe, nor indeed is it for the Good of our *collective* native Country; for I wiſh all Proſperity to *Scotland*, when intimately conjoined with *England*: But for the Name of *Briton*, as it is the Property of the honeſt *Welſhmen*, and none elſe, it can never belong to the *Engliſh*, or the *Scots*. And though we may vote Hiſtory to be a Liar by an Act of Parliament, the World will never believe us. Nor has this falſe Appellation, by the Experience of an hundred Years, or more, been found to be the effectual Inſtrument of our deſired Union. Upon the whole then, it ſtill remains to be proved, by ſome better Arguments, that Dr. *F.* is diſaffected to the Union, after the Manner of ſome *Scotchmen*, or *Frenchmen*. Theſe Objections, for Arguments there are none, being here drawn together as in a *Focus*, and appearing to have no Force in them, they deſerve no further Notice. I have now done with this *Syllogiſm* ——done! No, I have not——what? what is this at the End of it? Oh!——*Encore*.——We *Antigallicans* don't chooſe to ſpeak *French*—but I ſuppoſe this Gentleman means by it, that the laſt Part of his Performance was ſo extraordinary, that

it ſhould be repeated again.——Why, he may repeat it, if he will, with this Comment upon it; but I fanſy he may as well let it alone; For if he be deſirous of more Diſgrace, he will find freſh *Cargos* of it, and enough for his Purpoſe in each ſucceeding *Syllogiſm*.

Pray Reader attend to the Third.

SYLLOGISM III.

"MAJOR. The *Iriſh*, who have learned "to ſpeak and write *Engliſh*, in their ordi- "nary Manner, term thoſe they ſpeak or "write to, *Honies*.

"MINOR. Dr. *Free*, in his *ordinary* "*Writing*, to the *Monthly Reviewers*, terms "them *Honies*.

"CONCLUSION. Therefore Dr. *Free* is "an *Iriſhman*."

This *Syllogiſm*, for ſuch the Gentleman is pleaſed to term it, ſhould rather be called a *Chaos*. It is a Mixture of confuſed Elements without Shape, Mood, or Figure; of a Texture ſo looſe, that it is hard to diſcern in it, Conſiſtence enough, to make what the School-men would call the *Materia prima*, but our Practitioner in the great Wig the *Embryo* of a *Syllogiſm*.

The Argument, if there be any, derives all its Force from the Uſe of the Word *Hony*, which, upon turning over the Dictionary,

tionary, I find to be true and genuine *Engliſh*. The Matter then of this *Chaos*, if it take any Form, will certainly put on this.

MAJOR. He that ſpeaks *Engliſh* is an *Iriſhman*.

MINOR. Dr. *F*— ſpeaks *Engliſh*. Therefore,

CONCLUSION. Dr. *F*— is an *Iriſhman*.

Now if the *Logick* of this *Major* ſhould hold good in *Ireland*, as I think it is Pity it ſhould, I am ſure it will never be allow'd in *England*, where the Uſe of the *Engliſh* Language, as the *Mother Tongue*, is conſidered as a Proof, that the *People* are of the *Engliſh* Nation. It is Pity this Gentleman and his Aſſociates were not Spectators of Dr. *F*—'s *riſible* Behaviour, as they call it, in the Schools at *Oxford*. It is poſſible he might have laughed them into better Learning, and better Manners. Had this been the Caſe, and the Reviewer poſſeſſed of that Modeſty, which becomes a Diſciple, he might have been taught to have ſeen the Deficiency in the Structure of his next *Syllogiſm*, and how, through the Weakneſs of certain of its Parts, the whole Edifice muſt tumble about his Ears, together with that Load of heavy Wit which laid all its Streſs upon it; but the Youth, it is plain, was too conceited to be taught: For you will find, by his Talk, that he thinks himſelf as wiſe

as

as his *Maſter*. " *From theſe aſtoniſhing E-*
" *volutions*, ſays he, *our worthy Compatriot*
" *begins to ſtare*" and indeed I think we may, at ſo much *Ignorance*, and ſo much *Vanity*— " to extricate him then (that is, " Dr. *F.*) from his dolorous ſelf, and to com-
" fort him by undoing him, we affirm,

SYLLOGISM IV.

" MAJOR. *No Man* can be a *Scotchman*,
" and a *Frenchman*, and an *Iriſhman*.

" MINOR. But Dr. *Free* has been prov-
" ed, by three *Syllogiſms*, to be a *Scotchman*,
" and a *Frenchman*, and an *Iriſhman*.

" CONCLUSION. Therefore Dr. *Free* is
" *No Man*, or, according to the common
" Phraſe, *No-body*."

" Therefore Dr. *Free* is *No Man*, or, ac-
" cording to the common Phraſe, *No-body*."
Very well! But the Gentleman may hence-forth, perhaps, be taught to know, that where Words are ambiguous or fallacious, it is a Rule with good Logicians, to look for *univocal* Terms, which may diſtinguiſh the Equivocation, and fix the ſeveral Meanings.

No Man, the Medium in this *Syllogiſm* is a double Term, and ſo it is explained in the Concluſion, which makes the *Syllogiſm*, contrary to Rule, conſiſt of *four*.

In

In the MAJOR, *No Man* is *equivalent* to *no one Man*; we will take it ſo! then if you add the COPULA, *can be* — why then, *no one Man can be*—is tantamount to, *one and the ſame Man cannot be*; and then the *Major Propoſition*, cleared of the fooliſh *Fallacy*, will be this:

MAJOR. *One and the ſame Man* cannot be *Scotchman*, *Frenchman*, and *Iriſhman*.

And then the Structure of the *Syllogiſm* will require that you affirm, in the MINOR, that

Dr. FREE *is one and the ſame Man*.—And then the Concluſion will be, that Dr. FREE cannot be *Scotchman*, *Frenchman*, and *Iriſhman*.

Where are you now, Gentlemen? Shall we uſe your own Phraſe, and ſay, very *Syllogiſtically* abſorbed, is it in this Senſe, that you mean Dr. *F.* is *undone*? That, after all the Labour and Pains of ſo many wiſe Heads united, you have been able to do nothing at all at him? Alas, *poor Sopb!* I ſuppoſe you are by this, with Shame, convinced, that what you took for *Omnipotent* Syllogiſms are really no Syllogiſms at all. Gentle *Reader*, it is hard to ſay where this Gentleman learned his *Logick*: He appears to be quite a Stranger to the Rules of *Ariſtotle*; one would imagine, by his Inferences and Diſtinctions, that he had ſtudied under ſome ſuch profound Speculatiſt as *Shakeſpear's*

Spear's Grave-digger. A kind of Parish Officer, that comes in very opportunely upon the Gentleman's being, as he calls it, in the Embraces of *Non-Entity*, to such therefore, I think, rather than the Dead, we leave the Care of their Remains; and as their Epitaph has appeared in the News Papers, suppose it should be prefaced with this, or the like Inscription,

To the illiterate Memory of one, three and fifteen
Of that motley Society called the Monthly Reviewers,
Who being mortally wounded by the Person, who calls himself
An ANTIGALLICAN,
After some Struggles for Life, irrecoverably breathed their
last, on the 1st of September 1755.
Leaving behind them a written Memorial, *which confirms*
in every Article, the Opinion the World had conceived
of their Negative *Virtues, Want of Modesty, Want of*
Honesty, Want of Learning, and Want of Sense.

Peace to your Shades—How rapid was your Flight?
Plung'd Head and Heels in Chaos and old Night!
Not to the Place, I mean, where Milton paints
Satan surrounded by his Anti-saints.
No! rather Virgil's *Paradise is Yours;*
Which to the Dead their late Employ restores:
Gives to Don Quixote, still to wield the Lance——
To Rozinante—as on Earth—to prance.
Say! is it so?—then yet You may retain
Just your old innate Goddesses of Brain;
And in Avernus, Fathoms under Ground!
Still those poor Wits may work, and those dull Heads turn round.

The END.